

# America

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NATIONAL CATHOLIC WEEKLY REVIEW

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*Naguib breaks with the feudal past*

VINCENT S. KEARNEY

## U. S. progress toward social justice

*A look at the twenty-year record*

BENJAMIN L. MASSE

## Daily Worker on Stevenson

*Senator McCarthy submits his evidence*

ROBERT C. HARTNETT



New Cardinals  
India's PW plan  
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India: population policy

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**PURVEYORS TO THE VATICAN BY APPOINTMENT**

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### The new Cardinals

The creation by Pope Pius XII next Jan. 12 of 24 new Cardinals will bring the Sacred College to its traditional strength of 70 members. U. S. Catholics will rejoice in the elevation of Most Rev. J. Francis A. McIntyre, Archbishop of Los Angeles. They feel a special fitness in this recognition of the largest diocese (750,000 Catholics) on the West Coast and of the apostolic work of its Archbishop. In the less than five years since he was installed on Mar. 19, 1948, the Cardinal-designate has created 20 new parishes, built 10 major churches and opened more than 80 new parochial schools. Other appointments to the Sacred College which will especially interest the peoples of the Americas are those of Archbishops Paul-Emile Léger of Montreal; Augusto Alvaro da Silva of San Salvador, Brazil; Carlos Maria de la Torre of Quito, Ecuador; and Crisanto Luque of Bogotá, Colombia. The last two are the first Cardinals from their respective countries. In the new college, Latin America will be represented by 10 Cardinals, the United States by 4, Canada by 2. Of the 24 Cardinals-designate, 11 are Italian, 13, non-Italian. The Sacred College will be composed, after the Jan. 12 consistory, of 27 Italian and 43 non-Italian Cardinals. The elevation of Most Rev. Aloysius Stepinac, Archbishop of Zagreb, Yugoslavia, struck a sympathetic chord in all Catholic hearts and in the hearts of many outside the Church. So, too, did that of Most Rev. Stephen Wyszyński, Archbishop of Warsaw, Poland. With Cardinal Joseph Mindszenty, imprisoned by the Reds in Hungary since 1949, and Cardinal Thomas Tien, expelled by Mao's minions from his archiepiscopal see of Peking, they represent the "Silent Church" behind the Iron Curtain.

### ... Cardinal-designate Stepinac

In 1874 the Archbishop of Gnesen-Posen, in what is now Poland, M. Ledóchowski, was put into prison by Bismarck for "systematic resistance" to the anti-Church laws of the Kulturkampf. A year later, still in prison, he received the Red Hat from Pius IX as a visible token of the Pontiff's support and approval. Yet another year and Cardinal Ledóchowski was set at liberty by the Iron Chancellor, who knew when he was licked and never believed in throwing good money after bad. History seems now in the process of repeating itself, as Cardinal-designate Aloysius Stepinac, Archbishop of Zagreb and Primate of Yugoslavia, finds it impossible to go to Rome for the ceremony of investiture. Interviewed in his native town of Krasic, to which his movements are confined, he said he would not ask the Government's permission for the journey. Under the circumstances such a petition would be construed as a recognition of the legitimacy of his present status. It is also extremely improbable that Marshal Tito would allow him to return, once he had left Yugoslavia. The Communist Government has already promised the courageous prelate his complete freedom, on condition of leaving the country. It refuses to recognize him any longer as the lawful Archbishop of Zagreb and

## CURRENT COMMENT

would certainly welcome the journey to Rome as a means of ridding itself of this embarrassing prisoner. Once again, then, the Red Hat will come to a courageous prelate imprisoned for his convictions and for his defense of the rights of the Church. The occasion will serve to dramatize for world opinion the present condition of the Church in Yugoslavia.

### Trygve Lie can fire U. S. commies

UN Secretary General Trygve Lie has said he does not want on his staff any Americans who are disloyal to their country. In other words, he doesn't want any American Communists in the secretariat. But up to last week he was uncertain about the extent of his authority to dismiss UN employees who answer this description. Among the stumbling blocks are the UN Staff Regulations laid down by the General Assembly to guide personnel policies. These give no clear definition of grounds for dismissal. Another difficulty was the international character of the secretariat, which might seem to be jeopardized if governments set their own conditions upon the employment of their nationals in the organization. The answer to the problem now seems in the making. On Nov. 30, a three-man committee of internationally known jurists, consulted by Trygve Lie for an advisory opinion, told him he could fire anyone about whom he had convincing evidence of "engaging or [being] likely to engage in activities regarded as disloyal by the host country." He was also told that refusal to reply to questions concerning membership in the Communist party would make such a person "unsuitable for continued employment by the United Nations in the United States." The advisory group based this interpretation of the Staff Regulations and the Charter of the United Nations upon the general principle that an international organization has special obligations to the "host" country in whose territory it is located or in which it operates. Whether this opinion will meet with the approval of the General Assembly is not yet known. The first reactions were favorable. This should solve the problem of U. S. Communists in the UN secretariat so long as we are "host."

### ... grand jury's parting shot

A grand jury had its word to say on this subject, too. The Federal grand jury that has been investigating subversive activities in the New York area has ended



its 18-months' term. Its final presentment of December 2 roundly criticized the State Department for failure to exercise sufficient control over the employment of Americans in the United Nations and its affiliated organizations. The report, among other things, urged that no American citizen be permitted to accept employment with international organizations without prior clearance by an authorized U. S. body. The grand jury brushed off State Department claims to have entered into a working arrangement with Trygve Lie for the purpose of clearing out disloyal Americans from the secretariat. This procedure, it said, "failed miserably," as might be seen from the fact that three years after the agreement was supposed to have gone into effect many disloyal U. S. citizens were still to be found in the UN secretariat. Back in Washington, the State Department did not issue any formal riposte to this thrust. In apparent answer to the grand jury it issued a release stating that the "decision" to hire and fire Americans is made by the UN Secretary General alone. The statement expressed the "hope" that the report of the three-man panel referred to above "will dispose of the remaining problem." A House subcommittee was probing charges that the Justice Department delayed the report. This whole problem should have been met squarely long ago.

#### **AFL up, CIO down**

The extent to which Philip Murray's death shifted the balance of power in the American labor movement was graphically revealed last week by the intense struggle within the CIO to choose his successor. For a long time observers have suspected, but could not prove, that CIO membership figures were smaller than was popularly believed. By avoiding roll-call votes at conventions, CIO leaders did nothing to disillusion the public. They were satisfied to have people—especially businessmen—believe that, even after the ousting of a dozen Communist-dominated unions, they still spoke for more than 5 million dues-paying members. Actually, as the fight for the presidency between Walter Reuther and Allan Haywood revealed, the CIO is very much the junior partner in the American labor movement, with a membership less than half the size of the AFL's paid-up membership of 8 million plus. Should the scars left by Mr.

Reuther's successful drive for leadership be slow in healing, the CIO's position relative to the AFL will be weaker still. For the AFL was not similarly disrupted in filling William Green's place. In eloquent contrast to the upheaval in the CIO over Murray's successor was the smooth, noncontroversial choice of George Meany as president and William F. Schnitzler, head of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers, as secretary-treasurer. Highly respected throughout the labor movement, President Meany will give the AFL efficient administration and somewhat more dynamic leadership than Green furnished. His unity bid to the CIO, which significantly omitted the insulting "return-of-the-prodigal-to-the-House-of-Labor" theme, may well signalize the beginning of a new and constructive chapter in U. S. labor history. President Reuther, who is even less wedded to the past than is Mr. Meany, will do well to make the friendly AFL offer the number-one item on his agenda.

#### **Durkin in the Cabinet**

General Eisenhower's choice of Martin P. Durkin, head of the AFL Plumbers and Steamfitters, as Secretary of Labor, is perhaps another indication of the power-shift in U. S. labor. Neither Roosevelt nor Truman dared to risk picking a labor man for the Secretaryship for fear of stirring up a hornet's nest of inter-union rivalries. Evidently the President-elect, who is being shrewdly advised on labor matters, felt that the balance of power in American labor had swung so far in the AFL's favor that he could chance the selection of Mr. Durkin. To most GOP politicians the choice was as much a surprise as it was to Mr. Durkin himself, who is a life-long Democrat. To some of them it was a very rude surprise, notably to Senator Taft, who had proposed other names for the position and was not consulted before the nod to Mr. Durkin. To Mr. Taft, the naming of a Democrat was "incredible." For several reasons, however, the choice was a sound, almost inspired one. In the first place, Martin Durkin, though not nearly so well known as several dozen other union leaders, is a man of excellent character and proven ability. Secondly, by choosing a man from labor, the General served public notice that his was not to be an anti-labor administration. From a labor standpoint this was necessary, in view of the otherwise pro-business and conservative character of his Cabinet. This tone was again emphasized last week by the naming of Sinclair Weeks, chairman of the Republican National Finance Committee and prominent Massachusetts businessman, as Secretary of Commerce. Finally, Mr. Durkin has a better chance of winning CIO cooperation than almost any other AFL leader one might mention.

#### **Tax cuts and a balanced budget**

Now that the frenzy of the campaign has subsided, cooler heads are having a second look at GOP promises to cut taxes and balance the budget. The hard mathematics of Government income and outgo for the 1954

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fiscal year, which begins next July 1, strongly indicate that General Eisenhower has set himself an impossible task. At the present time the Government is spending at an annual rate of \$77 billion. It expects tax collections this year to push \$68 billion. That leaves a prospective deficit for fiscal year 1953 of \$9 billion. According to Washington reports, President Truman's budget for fiscal 1954 will call for an outlay of \$85 billion, with \$55 billion ticketed for military spending, \$7.5 billion for foreign aid, \$3.3 billion for atomic energy, \$15 billion for "fixed" charges, such as veterans' benefits and interest on the national debt. Those GOP Congressmen who are still talking about cutting the Truman figure to \$70 billion are obviously expressing a fond hope rather than a hard-headed expectation. Their more responsible colleagues figure that spending can be held to about \$78 billion. Even if the budget is cut to somewhat below that amount, it's hard to see how the books can possibly be balanced. Estimates for Government revenue in fiscal 1954 run to about \$67 billion *at present tax rates*. That would leave a deficit of \$11 billion. If all the so-called Korean taxes were permitted to expire according to schedule, the Government's revenues would go down \$8.5 billion over a full fiscal year. For fiscal 1954—because the termination dates of these taxes are staggered—the loss would be between \$5 and \$6 billion. Assuming a budget of about \$78 billion, such a loss of revenue would push the deficit up to about \$16 billion. The only way the Government can both balance the budget and cut taxes next year is to slash a minimum of \$14 billion from defense and foreign aid. It's hard to see any possibility of cutting the budget that much.

#### **Youth's major problems**

What are the two most vexing problems that bedevil U. S. youth today? They are both really aspects of the same bigger problem—the problem of peace: peace in the home and peace in the world. These are the findings of a poll by the National Midcentury Committee for Children and Youth that drew 7,037 responses. The purpose of the committee is to publicize the findings of the Midcentury White House Conference called by President Truman in 1950. It admits that its findings are "not scientific," but maintains that they are significant because they showed a response "about fifteen times greater than expected." Among twenty-three problems suggested as "very important," "important" or "not so important," fifty-six per cent of the youth (and some adults) listed discord among parents and the draft as top puzzles. In order of decreasing importance, other problems were developing a healthy attitude towards sex, being understood by parents, finding the right job, the use of narcotics, finding the right boy or girl, responsible driving of cars, the use of alcohol and religious uncertainties. A good sense of values was shown by the fact that economic problems (a nice house, good clothing, an auto and TV) were considered minor problems. If these attitudes are typical of the body of U. S. youth,

the outlook is hopeful. The young people probably failed to see the connection between a more intense religious life and the solution of their two major problems.

#### **Elections: Saar, Venezuela and Greece**

Several recent elections call for at least an interim recording. Very indecisive, for several reasons, was that held in the Saar on Nov. 30. After World War II, the industrial prize of the Saar, populated by Germans and formerly part of Germany, was given limited autonomy but united economically to France. Pro-German political parties were and are barred. In the parliamentary elections two weeks ago, candidates of parties upholding the French ties (the only candidates in the field) received 68 per cent of the votes. Twenty-four per cent of the voters deliberately cast invalid ballots as protest votes. Since no one knows how large was the "abstention" (also anti-French) vote, the results are regarded as inconclusive. Hence France and the West German Republic must still negotiate a settlement of this source of sharp friction between them . . . The national election held in Venezuela on the same day issued in more dramatic results. Apparently because the votes were running against the ruling junta, information about the returns was suddenly shut off. On Dec. 2 the Venezuelan Army announced that Col. Marcos Perez Jimenez, a member of the incumbent regime, was the Provisional President, his party having won the election . . . The Greek national election of Nov. 16 resulted in a parliamentary (but not popular) three-to-one landslide for Marshal Alexander Papagos' Greek Rally against the shaky Plastiras-Venizelos bloc. This was hailed as a victory for a strong anti-Communist government.

#### **. . . Mexican inaugural**

The inauguration of President Ruiz Cortines in Mexico City on Dec. 1 continued the regime of outgoing Miguel Alemán, though the new President took an independent line in his inaugural address. When Señor Alemán publicly embraced Archbishop Luis María Martínez at the Basilica of Guadalupe on Nov. 26, the *abrazo* seemed to symbolize a new era in Church-State relations. Alemán's six-year term really marked the consolidation of civil rule in Mexico.

#### **Mahmoud cleans up**

It is now evident that the Communists had their share in stirring up the mobs which went berserk in Baghdad on Nov. 23 (*AM.* 12/6, p. 236). Five days after the rioting, Iraq's new Premier, Gen. Nur ed Din Mahmoud, swept the known Red leaders into jail and began a screening process to eliminate subversive teachers from the schools. His decisive action was a severe blow to the party. It broke the back of Iraq's Communist movement just as it was getting on its feet again after the arrests and convictions of several years ago. Once again the Reds had made the strategic blunder of showing their hand too openly and too

soon. Mahmoud also turned his attention to Iraq's varied assortment of political parties, jailing all their leaders except Nuri Pasha and Saleh Jabr, who head the two largest parties. He then announced "general reforms," such as free higher education, less taxation, more army equipment and training and a new economic policy to raise the standard of living. Commendable as it sounds, such a long-range program may seem a bit glib coming from the head of a caretaker Government which has stepped into the breach only to keep order until the coming elections. It suggests that Mahmoud may merely be a front for the two largest parties, whose fate would undoubtedly be sealed unless Iraq remains tranquil. Thus, while the Baghdad rioting ended in a resounding defeat for the Communists, it is not yet clear that one of its fruits will be widespread social reform, comparable to that taking place in Egypt. If Mahmoud intends to retain power, it may be a different story. For the moment, however, it is not the interim Premier who will bear watching but the new Government which will take over in February.

#### One-dimensional movies

News from behind the Iron Curtain, the able monthly publication of the Research and Publications Service of the National Committee for a Free Europe, carried in its November issue a roundup on the cinema in Red-dominated Central Europe. From the survey a clear-cut pattern of Soviet strategy appears, involving a shutdown on Western films and a big expansion of the native movie industry. Rumania, for example, has announced that its first movie studios are now in production, an achievement made possible by "the magnanimous help of the Soviet Union's advisers, raw materials and technical instruments." In Slovakia the number of motion-picture houses rose from 358 in 1948 to 781 in 1952. According to Radio Budapest, movie audiences in that city have increased 30 per cent in the first quarter of this year. Since local production is still small, imported Soviet films are the staple. Hungarian theatres showed chiefly French and American films before the war; now 90 per cent of the films played in first-run theatres and 80 per cent of those in second-run theatres are of Soviet origin. Some of Budapest's current titles are: *Festival of Our Liberation*, *Soviet Whale Fishermen*, *On the Banks of the Volga*, *Party Membership Card* and *Thousand-Faced Hero*. When a few Soviet films were first shown in Budapest after 1945, the public rejected the primitive propaganda pictures and even burst out laughing at the "tragic" scenes. The present apparent acceptance of Soviet movies may be due to sheer boredom with the drab conditions of life in satellite countries. Bill Mauldin's *Up Front* tells of a group of GIs who came to see the same movie twenty times, since it was the only one around. Or perhaps the Big Lie, repeated often enough, has dulled the critical faculties of people ground down by misery and cut off from access to the truth.

#### CHURCH-STATE: A FRESH APPROACH

When the Catholic Bishops in their November statement reiterated the right of children in religious schools to "auxiliary services" at public expense, several Protestant spokesmen met this claim with the same old ding-dong about "separation of Church and State." Bridging this breach seems impossible. What could prove helpful is an exploration of how the impasse has come about and what might be done to remove the roadblocks to a workable solution.

Writing in the November issue of *Commentary*, the very well edited monthly published by the American Jewish Committee (34 W. 33rd St., N. Y. 1; single copies 50 cents), Will Herberg has given the whole subject of "The Sectarian Conflict over Church & State" a good shaking down. His article might even serve as what the sociologists call a "conceptual scheme" for the future study, by all concerned, of the Church-State problem and of intergroup antagonisms.

Focusing on public education as the hub of this stubborn controversy, Mr. Herberg recalls that American Protestants originally took to the public school as a "nonsectarian rather than nonreligious" institution. More recently, however, the public school has become almost completely *secularized*. Instead of taking alarm at the militant secularist spirit of public education, American Protestantism (itself considerably secularized) has allowed itself to be "thoroughly bedeviled by an all-absorbing preoccupation with the Catholic 'menace.'"

Catholics, on the other hand, never really warmed to the public school. Convinced that any proper education must be religiously orientated, they set up the only kind of religious schools that would fully satisfy them, i.e., Catholic schools. Latterly, certain Protestant groups, disillusioned with the progressive secularization of public education, are more and more adopting a similar solution. The lot of such schools is hard, however, because Protestants have united with secularists to frustrate every attempt to "aid" these schools through public funds, even indirectly. For fear that the political power of the Catholic Church will grow too strong, this alliance is bent on thwarting Catholic education.

Jewish spokesmen—much to Mr. Herberg's dismay—have largely sided with the united secularist-Protestant front opposing all aid to religious schools. Why? Mostly because Jews feel that a secularized society promises them greater security. Not all share this view.

What alarms Mr. Herberg, and should alarm all of us, is that religion in American society has become the great casualty of this defense-mechanism of frightened non-Catholics.

The only solution is: 1) for Catholics to avoid anything that gives real ground for fearing the undeniable growth of Catholicism; and 2) for Protestants and Jews to recover their religious convictions and strengthen their faith in democracy's capacity to manage the problems of a pluralistic society with fairness to everyone. This seems to be Mr. Herberg's position. R. C. H.

## WASHINGTON FRONT

No Hopkins, no Tugwell, no Cohen, no Corcoran, no make-America-over. Instead, men who have met payrolls—indeed, in the case of Charles E. Wilson of General Motors, who is to be Secretary of Defense, the world's largest private payroll. Thus does Dwight Eisenhower's Cabinet and official family take form. The type of visionary or peaceful revolutionary Franklin Roosevelt brought to Washington is nowhere in sight. The emphasis is on a conservative, though almost certainly not reactionary, Government. Nor is there any taint of the isolationism which so often has been the corollary of Republican reaction.

The signs for the days ahead are of emphasis on business administration by men who have made their marks in private industry. If there is any turn-the-clock-back move it will run counter to specific assurances given by the President-elect during the campaign. There is bound to be some tinkering with the Taft-Hartley labor law. Nobody can say from here what will be the result. But the prospect is for some moderate social advance, too. General Eisenhower early proposed increased benefits and broadened coverage under the social-security program. It happens that GM's Wilson, whose influence on policy may range well beyond his own affairs in the Defense Department, has also come out for higher benefit payments. Yet over-all, the main flow of energy in the early Eisenhower Administration will be not toward extension of Government programs but toward tidying up, in operating terms, those that have been put on the books in the last twenty years.

It may be that, when the top directorate of the new Administration is finally put together, it will come very close to representing the temper of America as expressed in the November 4 election. That is, a manifestation of weariness with Truman rule and an insistence that a better job be done in the basic task of running the Government, coupled with a warning, as reflected in the extremely narrow margin given the Republicans in Congress, that the country will stand for no emasculation of the social gains of the last two Democratic decades.

General Eisenhower's standard for appointments at the top of his Government has been tied to past achievement. Mr. Wilson, George Humphrey at Treasury, Herbert Brownell at Justice, John Foster Dulles at State and most other appointees are brainy men. William S. Knudsen, General Electric's Charles E. Wilson, Donald Nelson and others who came to this town and left defeated or frustrated were brainy men, too. The difference now will be in the atmosphere in which they toil. That could make the story different.

CHARLES LUCEY

## UNDERSCORINGS

The Allied Universities TV Council is formed of nine Midwestern universities that have pooled their resources to persuade schools that TV is a challenge to higher education to inspire or produce programs that can compete with commercial programs and interest adult audiences. The Council comprises Ohio, Cincinnati, Dayton, Kentucky, Louisville and Indiana Universities, as well as Ohio State, Miami University and Xavier University, Cincinnati. They have scheduled as their first program "Money from Mars," a dramatic history of money and currency practices. ▶ "The Catholic Hour," produced for the past twenty-three years as a radio program by the National Council of Catholic Men, will be supplemented after Jan. 4 by a TV program under the same auspices. The programs will be carried Sundays by NBC: the TV program at 1:30-2:00 P.M., the radio broadcast, 2:00-2:30 P.M.

▶ The Sacred Heart Retreat House, Auriesville, N. Y., reports that 28 retreats were given there this year to 332 priests from 46 dioceses and 23 religious orders or congregations. Last year, 19 retreats were given to 224 retreatants. Of this year's retreatants, 175 were coming to Auriesville for the first time.

▶ The American Catholic Sociological Society will hold its 14th annual convention Dec. 28-30 at Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wis. Themes treated will include crime prevention, interreligious tensions, industrial sociology, the family, population. For details, address Dr. Arthur T. Donohue, Marquette University.

▶ Five years' work by the Newman Intercollegiate Club of Cleveland was recently crowned by the dedication of St. Albert the Great chapel in Newman Hall on the campus of Western Reserve University, states an NC dispatch for Nov. 27. Newman Club students in the university's schools of art and architecture designed and helped to decorate the building.

▶ *The Mass Year, 1953* (The Grail, St. Meinrad, Indiana, 35¢) is a pocket-sized booklet indicating the Mass for every day in the year and containing reflections on the liturgy of the Sundays and principal feasts drawn from the writings of Dom Columba Marmion, O.S.B.

▶ The remarkable growth of interest in congregational participation in divine worship is evidenced by the development of the Vernacular Society. Founded in 1946, it now has 2,000 members, including 16 bishops as well as priests and laity. Organ of the society is *Amen*, an illustrated monthly published at 1590 Green Bay Road, Highland Park, Ill. (\$1 a year). Rt. Rev. Msgr. Joseph P. Morrison, pastor of Immaculate Conception parish, Highland Park, is president of the society. C. K.



## India's repatriation plan

On December 1 the Political and Security Committee of the UN General Assembly approved by a vote of 53 to 5 the Indian compromise resolution on the repatriation of Korean prisoners of war. Displaying his usual diplomatic tact, Soviet delegate Andrei Vishinsky shattered all hopes for a unanimous acceptance of the plan by characterizing the speech of V. K. Krishna Menon, who presented it, as "pathetic," "ludicrous," "false" and "spurious." The UN now has the apparently futile task of recommending the resolution to the Chinese Communists and the North Koreans "as forming a just and reasonable basis for an armistice." With Vishinsky calling the tune, only a Pollyanna could hope that the enemy will accept it.

The Indian plan is a triumph of compromise. It adheres to the principle that all prisoners of war have the right of repatriation according to the terms of the Geneva Convention. But it bars force either "to prevent or effect" their return to their homelands. It hands over the prisoners to a repatriation commission composed of representatives of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Sweden and Switzerland and an as yet unchosen "umpire." If this commission fails to resolve the fate of reluctant prisoners within three months, the political conference provided for in Article 60 of the draft armistice agreement will take over. If the conference fails to dispose of the prisoners within 30 days, the UN will then assume responsibility for them.

In rejecting this truce plan, Vishinsky may be guilty of a bigger mistake than he realizes. The proposal has much to recommend it from the Communist point of view. It is reasonable and conciliatory. It treats the Czech and Polish Governments as capable of neutral behavior. It takes the prisoners out of the hands of the belligerents and turns them over to a commission semi-loaded with Communist-bloc representatives, who would have ample opportunity for delay, cheating and putting pressure on individual prisoners.

It was because the Indian resolution was so open to abuse that Secretary Acheson originally opposed it. In his embarrassing position as outgoing Secretary, he had added reason to, for it smacked too much of appeasement. On the other hand, it was because it offered baits and loopholes to the Chinese that British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden had supported it. Yet, despite the fact that Washington and London were at odds at one time over a proposal which allowed one Asiatic Government to suggest appeasement of another, Vishinsky never once exploited the opportunity for creating an Allied rift. He persisted in saying no.

There is only one conclusion to be drawn from the Soviet opposition to the Indian resolution. At this stage Russia wants the war to continue as an essential part of her over-all Far Eastern strategy. In voting for the resolution, therefore, the UN was playing little more than a diplomatic game. There is not much, if any, hope of breaking the deadlock at Panmunjom. But

## EDITORIALS

at least the UN has succeeded in mobilizing the free world behind the principle of voluntary repatriation of PW's. The overwhelming vote in favor of a truce plan which could end the Korean conflict tomorrow places the blame for the continuation of the war where it belongs—on obstructionist Soviet Russia's doorstep.

Is there any chance, despite Russia's rejection of the proposal the UN adopted, that it can serve any useful purpose? The answer depends on the decision President-elect Eisenhower reaches as a result of his visit to Korea. If he decides that, as things stand, there is no honorable way to conclude a truce and that we must take the great risk of stepping up the war, the enemy might renew its interest in the UN proposal. This would depend, of course, on whether the UN forces succeeded in driving the Communists back.

If both sides were then confronted with the danger of a greatly expanded war, it is conceivable that the Communists might find the India resolution the best way out. With these very serious provisos, the proposal may still be of some use.

## Challenge to Senator Lodge

We were not only gratified by the appointment of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge as U. S. Ambassador to the United Nations. We were delighted by the announcement that he would be "one of the Administration's principal advisers and representatives in the formulation and conduct of foreign policy." It meant to us that the new head of the U. S. Mission to the UN will enjoy far more influence in the State Department and far more prestige in the UN than did his predecessor, Ambassador Warren Austin.

Senator Lodge, presumably, will replace Ambassador Austin on the UN Disarmament Commission, which gave out its Second Report on October 13. It is painfully evident from the 200-page report that no progress has been made toward stopping the arms race and that none can be expected until the commission takes a new tack. That it will not do until the United States offers new proposals which take into account Russian possession of the A-bomb and the American progress toward production of the H-bomb announced by the Atomic Energy Commission on November 16.

We hope Senator Lodge will use the position he has been assured on the policy level of the State Department to insist on a new disarmament formula. State has shown few signs to date of acknowledging the

need of a new and realistic approach to the urgent problem of control of armaments.

A year ago, sorely-missed Sen. Brien McMahon called on Congress to recommend that the UN Assembly drop everything else and "devote itself to the single purpose of stopping the armaments race" because "the prospect of the hydrogen bomb propels the peoples of the earth into danger above and beyond anything heretofore conceived by man." The prospect has become a hideous certainty—and the H-bomb race is on.

Originally second on the agenda of the Political and Security Committee, the item on disarmament was dropped to fifth place. Having spent six weeks on the repatriation of Korean war prisoners, the committee will plod through the Tunisian question, the Moroccan question and the utterly unrealistic report of the Committee on Collective Measures. By the time the report of the Disarmament Commission is reached, Lodge will be representing the United States.

Let us hope that he serves notice at once that he will refuse to do no more than *re-present* the old and outmoded disarmament proposals and will insist on being dealt a new hand to play.

## Taft on T-H

It is reliably reported from Washington that Senator Taft has made up his mind about the changes in the Taft-Hartley Act which he will sponsor in the 83rd Congress. In most respects the changes are identical with the amendments which he introduced in 1949, but there are at least two important differences.

Three years ago, in response to widespread criticism, the Senator was willing to modify the provisions covering national emergency disputes. He then proposed giving to the President the power of seizure as an alternative to the 80-day injunction. Now he feels that the 80-day injunction should be given another trial under a President less critical of it than President Truman has been. Reversing his 1949 position, he has also decided to stand pat on the anti-feather-bedding clauses of the Act, probably because the Supreme Court is now engaged on two key feather-bedding cases and is expected to clarify the law.

Among the amendments which Mr. Taft will propose, the following are noteworthy:

1. The restrictions on secondary boycotts will be generally tightened, but the law will permit employees to refuse to work on goods shipped in from a struck plant. Neither will it any longer be mandatory on NLRB to seek an immediate injunction in every instance of a secondary boycott.

2. In order to qualify for NLRB services, employers, as well as union leaders, will have to sign a non-Communist affidavit.

3. NLRB will have seven instead of five members, and appointments may be placed on a nonpartisan basis.

4. The General Counsel will be given even more autonomy than he now enjoys.

5. The notorious union-busting feature of the Act which General Eisenhower repudiated in his campaign address to the AFL convention will be deleted. The amended law will permit economic strikers who have been replaced by the employer to vote in representation elections. Senator Taft appears to be making this change out of deference to the new President, since he persists in his contention that the provision of the Act barring replaced economic strikers from the ballot is not nearly so dangerous to unions as its critics allege.

The Senator is reported to be unenthusiastic about proposals to ban industry-wide and nation-wide bargaining. Here he may have trouble with the White House, since General Eisenhower is reported to have told the members of the CIO executive board, who visited him in New York on November 28, that great corporations and giant unions should not be permitted to tie the economy in knots. There is no head-on clash, however, between the President-elect and the Senator. Senator Taft takes his stand on practical, not theoretical, grounds. **He thinks it would be extremely difficult to draft a really effective law banning industry-wide bargaining. He is right.** Incidentally, neither the General nor the Senator seems to appreciate that there are advantages as well as dangers in industry-wide bargaining.

As he goes about revamping the law, we hope that the Senator will not overlook the need for speeding up the handling of unfair-labor-practices cases. The press reported the other day a case involving the Winchester Repeating Arms Company which started way back in 1942 and was decided only a few weeks ago. It took that long to force the company to rehire 106 employees and give them \$350,000 in back pay. Two of the workers had died meanwhile, and their back pay had to be handed over to their estates. Such exploiting of the legal process makes for lawlessness in industrial relations.

## Ambassadors as missionaries

Marguerite Higgins, the New York reporter who made herself famous by her dramatic reports from Korea in the early days of the war, continues to submit dispatches that are thoughtful, significant and deserving of careful consideration by our policy makers. In a recent communiqué datelined Frankfurt and published in the New York *Herald Tribune*, November 25, she declares:

In traveling through ten key cold-war countries from Korea to Europe, this correspondent certainly found no suggestion that the United States should abandon its military and economic aid or its psychological warfare against the Communists . . . But it was repeatedly stressed that we were defeating our own ends of making friends and influencing people by the maintenance abroad of conspicuously huge American staffs living in styles to which nobody else could possibly become accustomed.

Too many American officials, she found in Iran, Iraq, Egypt and Italy, insist on carting with them all the luxuries they enjoyed at home—grand pianos, impressive furniture, electric refrigerators—and in setting up “little Americas” abroad, complete with post exchanges and snack bars. Meanwhile, other foreign legations “manage nicely to adjust to the foreign locale,” and thus reduce to a minimum the friction of social inequality.

This is particularly noteworthy in the tactics of the Russians. They are discreet. Far from antagonizing the native populace through any ostentation, they use their propaganda funds to get to the grass roots, to work through the local common people. “If any Soviet pianos are sent from Moscow to Teheran, nobody knows about it.”

What’s to be done about our offensive habits abroad? Somehow a spirit of dedication among those who represent the U. S. abroad must be revived. Ambassadors must begin to consider themselves missionaries. Miss Higgins says bluntly:

If an American citizen is not devoted enough to his job to be without a duplicate of the luxuries he has at home, he had better stay at home. Our expenditures in personnel are clearly not giving us our money’s worth . . . The current extravagances can bring only additional antagonisms.

No one is asking that U. S. representatives abroad live at the level of poverty that may surround them. But when an Arab student in Beirut can say to Miss Higgins, “We could keep an entire village alive for a year on what it must have cost to bring Mr. X’s stuff over here,” her insistence on the necessity of “doing more with less” certainly seems justified.

When we talk about “propaganda,” we seem to forget that the way U. S. representatives abroad live is a big part of it. That part is backfiring.

## **India: population policy**

Any illusion that the birth-controllers have lost anything of their zeal in recent years should be dispelled by the news that an international organization for the furtherance of birth control was launched at Bombay on November 29. The occasion was the Third International Conference on Planned Parenthood, at which 14 nations were represented by some 400 delegates. Mrs. Margaret Sanger, head of the Planned Parenthood Federation of the United States, was elected one of the honorary presidents. We reserve for another time fuller comment upon this latest move in the propaganda for birth control.

For the moment, what is significant is that the organizational meeting was held in India and that eventually the headquarters of the new organization may be fixed in that country. For “population policy” is the order of the day and the birth-controllers are losing no time in making the most of the situation.

As one would expect, the Government of the teeming subcontinent of India is deeply concerned about

the population problem and its connection with the only too familiar poverty, disease and misery of the Indian masses. The Indians are today naturally receptive to any programs put forward to cope with this challenge. It is certain that birth control looms large in their thinking as a possible way out. The Indian Government, however, does not seem to have committed itself to any doctrinaire position.

The reason for this official caution is that the Indians seem to be more aware than the apostles of birth control just how little is really known about the essential factors of the problem. Indian demographic experts complain of the almost complete lack of scientific data for determining the factors that bear upon India’s population problem. What measures the Government has already taken are merely stabs in the dark.

It was partly to remedy this deficiency that the UN Economic and Social Council in July, 1950 authorized a field survey to be conducted by the UN Population Commission in cooperation with the Indian Government. This study is now under way. A report should be ready by next summer. The project is financed jointly by India and the United Nations. It is being conducted in selected regions, especially in Mysore State.

The Economic and Social Council did not specify that the study was to examine the feasibility of contraceptive methods. The inquiry was supposed to provide “adequate information on fertility.” We note, however, that Dr. C. Chandrasekharan, representative of Trygve Lie for this project in New Delhi, took an active part in the meeting of the birth-control group. The gist of his remarks, as reported in the *New York Times* of November 28, would seem to indicate that the field study is devoted, at least in part, to canvassing the population to determine whether they would accept a birth-control program, based on contraceptives. He told the Bombay conference that 60 per cent of the urban population and 40 per cent of the rural dwellers interviewed were interested in artificial birth control. Comparatively few were found to be opposed to it. A relatively small number favored the Gandhian doctrine that countenances family limitation only by self-restraint.

These remarks of Dr. Chandrasekharan do not, we hope, foreshadow the tendency of the report he is to submit next summer to the United Nations. It would be most unfortunate for the cause of UN technical assistance to India if the report proved to be a sell-out to the birth-controllers. If that happened, it is highly unlikely that any funds would be granted out of the UN “Special Account” for technical assistance, to which the U. S. voluntarily contributes 60 per cent. A sound population policy rests upon a host of factors, depending on the total social pattern of the country in question. India’s laudable effort to combat poverty among its people should not alienate needed support abroad by being presented as just a birth-control program.



# Social reform in Egypt

Vincent S. Kearney

WHEN EGYPT'S new "strong man," General Mohammed Naguib, launched his land reform program several months ago, he struck at the base of a social structure as outmoded as the Pharaohs who first laid out its now-crumbling foundations. It is too early to draw sweeping conclusion as to the possible effects of his social legislation. Yet this much must be said: Naguib has given Egypt a new hope. Moreover, his determination to solve the country's perennial problem of almost universal hunger in the midst of plenty has had repercussions throughout the entire Middle East.

Naguib's social movement is indeed a revolution. But it is a controlled revolution, a reform based on the maintenance of private property. Though his program calls for the outright expropriation of privately owned land, its purpose is to provide for a more equalized distribution of Egypt's most precious commodity, her extremely fertile soil. In the future no one of the country's relatively few big landowners will be allowed to possess more than 200 acres of arable land. The State will take over the surplus and parcel it out among the landless poor. Former owners will receive compensation from the state, to be paid over a period of thirty years. The peasant will in turn repay the Government over the same period of time, but will be entitled to low interest rates and long-term agricultural loans.

For the Egyptian farmer this drastic action of Naguib has been a long time coming. The formerly solidly entrenched Wafd party came into power in January, 1950 (probably for the last time) on the basis of its promise to raise the standard of living of the Egyptian people. It proved itself neither more efficient nor less corrupt than most of its predecessors. Though conscientious efforts toward social reform emerged in some quarters, they proved to be merely stopgap measures which could not weather insistent demands for a wholesale upheaval of existing social institutions. Reform in Egypt could not succeed unless it destroyed the very concept of society on which not only the feudal economic and social structure of Egyptian life has been based but on which its authoritarian political system, unique even in the Middle East, depended for its perpetuation.

## EGYPT'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEM

Egypt's socio-economic problem is visible to the naked eye. The traveler entering Egypt by air for the first time cannot fail to notice the narrow green strips of land bordering both banks of the Nile and the vast stretches of desert reaching to the horizon beyond. As he walks down a city street or through the innumerable villages which dot the rural areas,

*Fr. Kearney, S.J., associate editor of AMERICA, sketches the background of the coup by which General Naguib seized power in Egypt last July. The author, who lived two years in Cairo, dealt with the Moroccan and Tunisian problems in previous articles (AM. 6/28; 7/19).*

one fact stands out: Egypt fairly swarms with people. He has no need of statistics to prove to his satisfaction that the three per cent of Egypt which is not desert is one of the most densely populated areas in the world.

Statistics, however, do help to bring Egypt's vital problem into sharper focus. According to the 1947 census, 19,088,839 people are living on 5,963,059 acres of land. Between 15 and 16 million of these people depend directly on the soil for their living. Thus, although the bulk of its population is rural, Egypt has a greater density of population than the highly industrialized countries of Europe. Furthermore, the population is steadily growing. The problem is therefore self-evident. How feed a population which has increased by 96.8 per cent in the last fifty years, when land fit for tilling, already scanty, has only increased by 12 per cent?

Despite these grim figures, death by starvation is a rare occurrence in Egypt. Unlike India and China, where frequent famine carries off large segments of the people, Egypt has been able to provide enough food to keep her peasants at least alive, though not, by Western standards, well-fed.

The reason for this success in subsistence lies in the extraordinary fertility of the Nile Valley. Each year the Nile carries north from Central Africa rich deposits of silt. Though the land watered by the river is limited to several miles on either side of its banks, its fertility is being constantly replenished.

Even without fertilizer the Egyptian farmer is able to produce crops at an astonishingly high yield per acre. In four-fifths of the arable area, where perennial irrigation is in use, the land produces one and a half to two crops a year. The average wheat yield is almost as high as Britain's. Proportionately, more corn is produced there than anywhere else in the world. Cotton, the principal export, yields an average of 606 pounds per acre, as compared with 258 in the United States and 368 in the Soviet Union.

Why, then, does the peasant live on the edge of starvation? Principally because he does not own what he harvests. The statistics which give the number of landowners in Egypt are very deceptive. Of those possessing arable land, 72.1 per cent have less than one acre, and 94.2 per cent less than five acres. From his small plot the peasant must feed an average family of 5, representing the survivors of 8 to 10 births, in addition to other relatives he may have living with him in his mud hut. Small wonder the Egyptian farmer has a life expectancy of only 38 years.

The peasant must therefore supplement his income either by hiring himself out as a laborer on one of the large estates or by becoming a tenant farmer on

a sharecropper or cash-rent basis. Because the population increases so rapidly in proportion to available land, rents are very high and often exceed net farm income. Frequently the farmer receives in effect no income at all for his backbreaking labor. The average yearly rent per arable acre is about 30 Egyptian pounds and the annual average revenue from farming it is about 55 Egyptian pounds.

The peasant is consequently hard pressed to keep out of debt, particularly in view of the fact that for 95 per cent of the country's agricultural families the yearly per-capita income does not exceed 10 Egyptian pounds. This gives him little or no purchasing power.

#### AGRICULTURE AND THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

Since the entire population of Egypt is dependent for its livelihood on a single stream of water, it is easy to understand why, from its earliest history, Egypt has had an authoritarian form of government. The water supplied by the Nile is naturally limited. Once the population exceeded the numbers actually needed to cultivate the small arable areas, the distribution of the Nile waters had to be centrally controlled, if all people were to benefit. This control amounted to potential regimentation of all aspects of Egyptian life.

The worst possible consequences of authoritarianism followed. Not only did the early rulers decree what crops were to be grown and where; they also forced the entire population to work without pay. The tradition developed and carried down to the present day that the relationship between ruler and ruled, wealthy and poor, was that of master and slave. The resulting Egyptian social climate has accordingly been very different from that of other Middle Eastern countries, where the tradition of the free, democratic tribal community tended to prevail. The history of the Egyptian peasant has been one of suppression, ill treatment and poverty.

What is worse, gross social and economic inequality has been accepted as the normal thing. The wealthy landowners jealously guarded their position in the community as based on a natural superiority. The fatalistic attitude of resignation to their lot on the part of the peasants made social revolt unlikely, even though they were in the majority. Furthermore, Mohammedanism, the religion of more than three-fourths of Egyptians, lacked a social philosophy on which to base a plea for more equal distribution of wealth on moral grounds.

Once Naguib assumed dictatorial powers he was in a position to take one of two possible steps to alleviate Egypt's problem of poverty and her unjust social system. He could have initiated plans for large-scale emigration. Or he could have redistributed the land holdings to eliminate the absentee landlords and divide

the land among the peasantry in the form of holdings of about five acres per family. A farm of this size is generally regarded as viable, particularly under conditions where perennial irrigation prevails.

#### EMIGRATION VS. LAND REFORM

Naguib had no guarantee that an emigration policy would have succeeded. More than likely it would have failed. For one thing, it would have left the landowner on the scene, where he would have been quite capable, as past experience has demonstrated, of pressuring the Government for relief from "exorbitant labor costs." The exodus of Egyptians might have been stopped before it served any significant purpose.

On the other hand, a land-reform movement, the step actually chosen by Naguib, promises numerous possible benefits and has no obvious disadvantages.

First, land redistribution could mean an increase in per-capita income for the rural population through more efficient farming and greater enterprise on the part of many new small landowners. (In fact, agricultural experts in Egypt agree that yields per acre on small farms are higher by upwards of 12 per cent than what they are on the large estates.) Secondly, by raising the purchasing power of the farmers and hence setting up markets for industrial products. It could provide the opening for more industries. These in turn would absorb part of the surplus rural population, thus creating still more spending power and possibly more manufactures.

Politically it could spur greater confidence in the Government on the part of the farmer.

Lastly, it could increase the receptivity of the peasant to health and education programs. People who must devote their every waking hour and that of their children to eking out a bare subsistence have neither the time nor the funds to improve their health and educational services. A healthy population, which Egypt now lacks, would mean still greater productivity. In short, land redistribution could set in motion a chain of benefits for the Egyptian people with no foreseeable stopping point.

#### NAGUIB VS. THE COMMUNISTS

It is too early to make sweeping predictions of what benefits will in fact ensue from Naguib's social-reform legislation. One thing, however, is certain. The speed and extent of his movement has pricked the Communist balloon.

Almost immediately after the coup which resulted in the ousting of ex-King Farouk, prominent members of Egypt's Communist party deserted its ranks. Youssef Helmi, a member of the CP's Central Committee, and Fathi Ridvan, celebrated Egyptian "pinko," were among those released from concentration camps. They immediately declared for the new regime. A short



time later Kamel el Bindari, a rich landowner, called the "Red Pasha" because he had been Ambassador to the Kremlin in the 'forties, joined Naguib's Cabinet as minister of propaganda without portfolio. Following the lead of these men, more "fronters" went over to the Government.

In the meantime other leaders among the Communists were frantically joining anti-Naguib landowners and industrialists to provoke unrest and stem the tide of defections. Their first concentrated effort resulted in the abortive rioting at the Kafr el Dawar cotton mills, twelve miles south of Alexandria, as reported in the U. S. press last August. The Naguib Government promptly put down the demonstration. Several workers and soldiers were killed, and many more were injured. Naguib exposed the unholy alliance behind the violence. His prestige immediately rose while Communist stock slumped.

The Reds also made serious mistakes in the propaganda field. During the early days of Naguib's coup they circulated the report that the General was a "Fascist." The accusation caused confusion even among the party's rank-and-file dupes. Why call Naguib a "Fascist," when he released the party's leaders from

concentration camps? Why fight a man who was attempting reforms so long overdue, reforms that the Communists themselves had called for?

The truth of the matter (and Egyptians were not long in coming to this conclusion) was that the Communist party was more interested in keeping alive Egypt's quarrel with Britain and working for an alliance with the Soviet Union than it was in social reform. When Naguib came along and resolutely enacted domestic measures which the Reds had insincerely championed, he stole the CP's thunder and forced it to reveal itself in its true colors as a troublemaker and nothing more.

So Naguib has established himself as the favorite of the Egyptian underdog. There is little doubt that in a general election he would get an overwhelming majority. If his popularity continues over a number of years, he appears certain to put his country on the way toward democracy, provided he makes no major mistakes. Though his regime is far removed in some aspects from Western democratic ideals, at the present time it seems to offer the best route, through the chaos and corruption long typical of the Middle East, toward stable government for Egypt.

## U.S. progresses toward social justice

**Benjamin L. Masse**

WHEN DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER becomes President of the United States on January 20, he will inherit from the old Administration a going concern.

The United States is today a very prosperous country; it has been, indeed, a very prosperous country for the past ten years. Never mind, for the moment, whether this prosperity must be largely attributed to war and national defense. So far as the people and their living standards are concerned, the prosperity is real. It is real for the wage-earner, for the farmer, for the capitalist, for the professional class, for just about everybody except that small minority which lives on a fixed income.

Prosperity is real for the wage-earner. At the end of 1951, the average weekly wage in manufacturing was somewhat in excess of \$65; in bituminous coal mining, approximately \$81; in building construction, \$86. In 1941, the comparative figures were \$29.58, \$30.86 and \$35.14 respectively. The dollar is cheaper now, but workers earn so many more of them, and so many more workers are earning them, that they enjoy a considerably higher real standard of living than they had a decade ago.

Prosperity is real for the farmer. In 1941, farm income totaled \$6.9 billion. In 1951, it was approxi-

mately \$17 billion. Even those figures don't do justice to the wonderful change that has come over agriculture. There are fewer farmers today to divide that income than in 1941. In 1941, the farm population was 28 million; by 1951, it had dropped to 23 million.

Prosperity is real for the capitalist. Though 1941 was, up to that time, the best year corporations ever had, they more than doubled their profits by the end of the decade. The figure for 1941 was \$17.2 billion; for 1951, it was \$44.8 billion. Even after taxes, corporations earned nearly twice as much at the end of the decade as they had at the beginning, and more than doubled dividends. On the eve of the election *Business Week* could write:

Most firms are in excellent condition, working capital is at an all-time high. Dividend rates have been maintained at peak levels. Almost any corporation that has expansion plans can still carry them through. Profits are still big enough to provide a sizable part of the money for new capital spending.

In the popular expression of the day, business never before had it so good.

It was in such circumstances that General Eisenhower put the Democrats to rout on November 4,



thereby making mincemeat of the old political adage that voters do not oust the incumbent party when times are good. Contrary to what the late Al Smith once said, they do on occasion shoot Santa Claus.

Not only will the General inherit a prosperous country on January 20, but he will inherit, in terms of social justice, a sounder country than the people of the United States have ever known. The economic and social changes which began with the first Administration of Franklin Roosevelt may not have been particularly well-planned. There may have been a lot of huffing and puffing in those seemingly far-off days. There may have been some unnecessary experimentation. There was certainly, as all but the blindest partisans of the New Deal must admit, a great deal of luck.

The element of luck has perhaps not been sufficiently appreciated. Had it not been for the prosperity begotten of war, farmers would not be nearly so well off as they now are, labor would not be so solidly organized, Negroes would have made fewer social and economic gains. Then, too, in any but prosperous times the resistance to change on the part of the rich and well-established would probably have been much more resolute and effective than it actually was. Because the "haves" were also prosperous in an absolute sense, they lacked incentive to fight for their relative position in the economy. They may not have been happy over the gains of the "have-nots," or over the legislation which helped to make these gains possible, but they remained too well off themselves to make a life-and-death issue of the change.

Nor should this large element of luck detract from the positive accomplishments of the Roosevelt-Truman era. Much of the legislation that was then sponsored has become part of the American way of life. It has contributed to our present prosperity and to the more equitable way in which it is being shared. It will not be repealed.

Perhaps the simplest way to appreciate that the country is sounder today than it ever was before—sounder in the sense that the socio-economic pattern more nearly approaches the ideal of social justice—is to compare the distribution of the national income which prevails today with that of earlier years.

In its classical study of the 1929 pattern of income distribution—*America's Capacity to Consume*—the Brookings Institution emphasized the following facts:

1. Most American families had incomes of \$2,500 or less a year. There were 20 million such families, constituting 70 per cent of the population.

2. Sixty per cent of those families had incomes below the \$1,500-a-year level, and more than a fourth of them had to live on less than \$1,000 a year.

3. Only 8 per cent of the population—2 million families—had annual incomes over \$5,000.

4. Of the \$15 billion which people saved in 1929, two-thirds was accounted for by the 2.3 per cent of the population with incomes above \$10,000 a year.

The inequitable pattern of income distribution revealed by the Brookings study persisted through the early 'thirties. In its study of incomes for 1935-36 (*The Structure of the American Economy: Part 1*), the National Resources Committee found that the one-fifth of the nation's families and individuals with incomes of \$1,925 a year or over received about as much of the total income as the other four-fifths together.

The most recent figures show that the national income is now divided on a fairer basis. The very rich are getting proportionately less income, and families at the bottom of the ladder are getting more. The top fifth of our families no longer receive as much income as the other four-fifths. In 1951 their share had dropped to about 45 per cent. The top tenth suffered a sharper decline. In 1929 these very-high-income families received 46 per cent of all personal income. In 1951, the figure was about 31 per cent.

In 1929, roughly 17 per cent of our families were below the \$1,000-a-year level; in 1951, only 13 per cent. Almost a fourth of our families were in the next lowest bracket—\$1,000 to \$2,000—in 1929. In 1951 that percentage had fallen to approximately a seventh. Only a fifth of U. S. families were in the \$3,000-to-\$5,000 bracket in 1929. Last year about a third, including many working-class families, were in that bracket.

These figures, which are given in 1951 dollars, are all income before taxes. Taxes, however, make less difference in the relative standing of our income groups than is generally assumed. *Business Week* calculates that the share of income received by the top fifth of our families drops only four percentage points after taxes. The reason is that for the most part only Federal taxes are highly progressive. State and local taxes, like the rain, fall with fine impartiality on rich and poor alike.

Of considerably more importance than taxes in the relative decline of the rich, the relative gain of the poor and the big, healthy bulge of the middle class are the prosperity of agriculture, good wages under conditions of full employment and the sharp growth in social-security programs. Then, too, the big increase in the number of married women working outside the home has given a second paycheck to many low-income families.

That last factor is disturbing. It suggests that throughout all the changes that have occurred during the past twenty years, the division of industrial income between wages and profits still leaves much to be desired from the viewpoint of social justice. It appears



to be a fact that trade unions, despite their growth in numbers, prestige and power, have had, over-all, practically no effect on the ratio between wages and profits.

In 1929, corporate profits were about 11 per cent of the total national income, and employe compensation came to 58 per cent. In 1951, profits stood at more than 15 per cent of total income—a gain of close to 40 per cent—and employe compensation was slightly more than 64 per cent, a gain of not much more than 11 per cent. Here are the percentages of total national income, in round numbers, going to these two categories in the postwar years:

	<i>Wages and Salaries</i>	<i>Profits</i>
1946	64	10
1947	64	12
1948	62	14
1949	64	14
1950	64	15

About all that can be said of trade-union pressure on the distribution of corporation income is that it may have prevented the ratio from being more favorable to profits than it actually was.

To determine the proper proportion between wages and profits is, admittedly, a difficult economic problem. There will always be disagreement over the level of earnings needed to maintain the good health of business—to replace obsolete plant and machines, to finance expansion, to attract new capital. There will also be disagreement over the level of wages needed to provide enough purchasing power to take off the market all the goods which industry can produce. In this perennial argument, labor and management can at any given time mobilize an imposing array of economists to support their respective, and loudly conflicting, opinions.

From a moral standpoint, however, what is beyond dispute is the obligation incumbent on industry to pay a family living wage. While in many cases today wages are sufficient to support a family, in a good many others they are not. There is nothing surprising about that, since the American wage system is geared solely to individual productivity, not to family needs as well. Perhaps if the ratio between wages and profits were shifted somewhat in favor of wages, industry might generally be able to pay a family living wage. But there is some doubt about that. One can argue that wages in our competitive system simply cannot be correlated with family needs. If such is indeed the case, some supplementary means, such as family allowances, must be worked out to assure a living income to the families of all our workers.

That might well be one of the next goals of social advance in the United States, a goal that is only less urgent than the need to raise the incomes of the lowest tenth of American families.

During the past two decades, then, the country has made marked progress toward the ideal of social justice. There are good grounds for hoping that this progress will continue. There are even grounds for

hoping that at the end of the next twenty years we may be close to the goal, or may even reach it. A lot depends on whether or not the Kremlin keeps the peace.

## Daily Worker on Stevenson

**Robert C. Hartnett**

ON p. 316 OF THIS ISSUE appear a letter from Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy and also the full text of the article in the *Worker* on which he based part of his anti-Stevenson TV address of October 27 from Chicago. The Senator sent us a copy of the photostat of this article. In his letter, he says:

You will note that the editorial does exactly what I said it did—viciously damns Eisenhower, slaps Stevenson lightly on the wrist, and tells the people if they want to vote for Stevenson, vote for him and the rest of the Progressive Party candidates and pile up a big vote for the Communist candidates who are in the field.

Before dealing in detail with the photostated article to see whether Mr. McCarthy's summary of it was at all justified, it is now necessary to correct several new mistakes in the above sentence. Having referred to the photostat as carrying an "article," he immediately calls it an "editorial."

Now there was an editorial in the October 19 issue of the *Worker*. As was stated in these pages (11/22, p. 209), the editorial says nothing about "Eisenhowerism" or voting for Stevenson. It does say "just the opposite" of what the Senator claimed was the position of the *Daily Worker* on the Stevenson candidacy. The McCarthy photostat was not wide enough to reproduce this editorial intact. Whereas the first line of the editorial begins, "THE PLACARDS with which President Truman was," there was room on the McCarthy photostat for only this fragment, "The PLACARDS wi"—less than half of every line. His photostat is of the article, not the editorial, though he uses the terms interchangeably. He also uses the wholly unjustifiable expression, "vote for him [Stevenson] and the rest of the Progressive Party candidates . . ." Governor Stevenson, of course, was *not* a Progressive Party candidate.

The article on which the Senator based his claim (that the *DW* said, equivalently, "... if Communists want to vote for Stevenson—okay, vote for him—but vote for no one else on the Democrat ticket . . .") appeared in some October 19 editions of the Communist publication. The title of this publication is the *Daily Worker* for the weekday issues, and simply the *Worker* for the Sunday issues. According to in-

formation supplied by DW's editorial office here, there are only two daily editions. The *Sunday Worker*, however, appears in two New York editions, and also in separate Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey and Pennsylvania editions.

October 19 was a Sunday. Since the Sunday editions reach a far wider readership than the daily, the *Sunday Worker* sometimes reproduces articles that have already appeared in the *Daily Worker* in order to reach those readers who receive only the Sunday edition. This is what happened on October 19. Since AMERICA receives the *Daily Worker*, the edition of the *Sunday Worker* it received did not reproduce the article to which the Senator referred, because it had already been published in the daily edition.

#### THE DW ON STEVENSON'S CANDIDACY

Now that the precise article Senator McCarthy cited has been identified, we can examine the central question, which is whether he had any real warrant for citing the *Daily Worker* as evidence of at least toleration of Stevenson's candidacy on the part of the official Communist publication.

The McCarthy photostat is of an article by Alan Max, "I. F. Stone and the Fight Against McCarthyism." This particular article (as was clearly stated in the photostat) was the third in a series by the same author, all reproduced in the *Sunday Worker* from the DW. They appeared in the DW on three consecutive days, October 1-3.

Now who was I. F. Stone and why did Alan Max judge him important enough to write three articles about him in the DW?

I. F. Stone was identified by Max in the first article (DW, Oct. 1, p. 1) as a columnist in the *Compass*. (This was a very left-wing New York daily which folded up right after the election). On September 21, Stone wrote that he would vote for Stevenson. According to Max, Stone took the position that "the overriding issue is peace," that the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket was a "war ticket" and that Stone was therefore going to vote for Stevenson. "I have confidence in Stevenson," wrote Stone; "I don't think he is as left of center as was F.D.R. But I believe I hear in his speeches the accents of an extraordinarily able man capable of leading this country along the path to peace and freedom."

To Alan Max, this desertion of the Progressive party candidate, Vincent Hallinan, in favor of Stevenson was intolerable deviationism. He completely denied the validity of Stone's reason for voting for the Governor. He wrote:

On the contrary, peace is the only issue on which Stevenson hasn't even made any promise at all . . . In fact, Stevenson is so firmly committed to the Korea war and to its continuation that today it is Eisenhower and Nixon who are talking "peace" (DW, Oct. 1, p. 5).

Max then declares that Stone once "felt that Herbert Hoover offered a possibility for peace" and later

thought "Eisenhower . . . might be the one to undertake negotiations with the Soviet Union." "Unfortunately," concluded the DW writer, "Mr. Stone is wrong for a third time." Max confessed that he was at a complete loss to understand why Stone, a consistent advocate of "peace," could vote for Stevenson. Stone and the *Compass*, added Max, would be better advised to press Stevenson to pledge himself to an immediate cease-fire in Korea.

So it was incontestably clear from the very first article that Alan Max and the DW would have none of Adlai Stevenson. The Governor's unflinching stand against Red aggression in Korea set up an impassable barrier between them.

The second Max article (DW, Oct. 2) is very interesting. Although the author admitted there are differences between the Democrats and the Republicans, he insisted that the only real difference is that they "pursue the SAME objectives DIFFERENTLY." On both the labor and Negro (civil-rights) issues, he wrote, the Democrats have deceived the people. They have "framed" Communist leaders, put them in jail, etc., etc.

This brings us to the third article in the series, which Mr. McCarthy flourished as evidence that the Communist party in the United States was notably more tolerant toward the Stevenson candidacy than toward the Eisenhower. This article appeared in the DW on October 3. The reader can examine it in full on p. 316 of this issue.

As is perfectly obvious from the text, Max blames the Smith Act prosecution of Communist leaders, "initiated by the Truman Administration and fully approved by Stevenson," for "feeding the growth of McCarthyism." The Democratic party itself laid the "groundwork," he charges, for "McCarthyism and Eisenhowerism." The Democratic party, he affirms, is definitely *not* "a lesser evil" than the GOP.

The Communist party, however, as Max clearly indicated, faced a "real problem" in the 1952 elections. It was this: "the overwhelming majority of workers and Negro people" were going to stick to the two-party system, especially to the Democrats. Where did this leave the DW's party, the Progressives, and their candidate for President, Vincent Hallinan?

Trying to salvage what they could from a situation they deplored but could not control, the Communists, through Alan Max, said that even "those millions of voters who do not understand the real nature of the Stevenson candidacy" and who were going to vote for the Governor could "express their misgivings" "by helping to elect local Progressive party and coalition candidates," etc. The DW appeal was explicitly addressed to non-Communists. It was a forlorn attempt to persuade whomever they could—chiefly Negroes, it seems—to vote for local Progressive candidates even if they voted for Stevenson for President.

There is not a single word of approval of Governor Stevenson's candidacy in any of these DW articles. There is not a single word that justifies Mr. McCarthy's



saying, "If Communists want to vote for Stevenson—okay, vote for him." The "millions of voters who do not understand the real nature of the Stevenson candidacy" were certainly not mainly Communists, if for no other reason than that there aren't "millions" of Communist voters in this country to begin with.

To twist the exhaustively presented *Daily Worker* line on Presidential candidates into a smear of Governor Stevenson really took some doing. That line was just as anti-Stevenson as it was anti-Eisenhower. Senator McCarthy tried to make the *DW* say, very reluctantly, what the *Compass* columnist actually did say with a certain amount of conviction. The *DW*, far from tolerating this deviationism, beat the *Compass* over the head and read it a long lesson for being indulgent towards the Stevenson candidacy. The McCarthy speech therefore gave a badly garbled and distorted account of what appeared in the *DW*. His

letter to the editor of *AMERICA* compounds this tactic by adding more inaccuracies.

The *DW* itself, in a front-page editorial in its October 29 issue, paid its respects to the Senator in plain, uninhibited language for hashing up its position. "To say that this paper supports a slick warmonger like Stevenson," it declared, "is to pay him a compliment he hasn't earned." It specifically denied that it supported Stevenson, "directly or indirectly." The *DW* was unqualifiedly against Stevenson from start to finish.

This is what the present writer contended in these pages three weeks ago. That Senator McCarthy, without a shred of warrant, set out to smear the reputation of Governor Stevenson by trying to wrap up his candidacy in the *Daily Worker* seems to this writer, in view of the evidence, simply incontrovertible.

The reply to Mr. McCarthy's other complaints must wait.

## Hemingway, Byron, the adolescent hero

**P. J. Scharper**

The appearance of Hemingway's latest novel, *The Old Man and the Sea*, seems to have done little to settle the current critical disputes as to his eventual stature as a novelist. By and large, those who have considered him superbly second-rate have only been strengthened in their opinion, while those who have hitherto looked on him as a world novelist of front-line abilities point to this latest work as complete substantiation of their judgment.

What *The Old Man and the Sea* does contain unequivocally, however, is another presentation of the "Hemingway hero"—substantially the same person who has appeared in various guises as young Nick Adams, Lieutenant Henry, Robert Jordan, the aging bull-fighter of "The Undefeated," and the heavyweight champ past his prime in "Fifty Grand." This radical identity of the Hemingway heroes has been so long and so widely recognized that critics are justified in calling these various central characters so many sketches for the composite portrait of that single person, the typical Hemingway hero. The *Old Man* in the present work merely adds a few strokes to the already finished picture of the man of stoic courage who bravely faces overwhelming odds and thereby snatches inner victory from outer defeat.

The fact that the Hemingway hero has remained fundamentally unchanged for the last twenty-five years provokes some interesting reflections, which, in turn, prod one into taking up again the oft-noted similarities between the Hemingway hero of the twentieth century and the Byronic hero of the nineteenth. Each, for example, is generally presented in a state of partial

## LITERATURE AND ARTS

or complete isolation from the swirling life about him. With Byron and Hemingway, the characters who fascinate their creative imaginations are, like themselves, wanderers and expatriates, essentially rootless men who are withdrawn from, rather than inserted into, the hurly-burly of existence which confronts the average human being.

In Hemingway particularly, this detachment from the bonds that ordinarily link people together is underlined by the fact that most of his characters lack a personal history; they are people without a past who live in and for the present—the only portion of time which has any real meaning for them. Santiago, the old fisherman alone on the empty sea, whose only link with the past is the fact that he dreams at night of the lions he saw on the African beaches when he was a young man, is representative of the intensely narrow and intensely personal world of the Hemingway hero.

Again, like his Byronic forbear, the Hemingway hero is constantly questing for an ideal; usually, for the Byronic figure, the object of this quest is a

*Philip J. Scharper is on the English faculty at Fordham University. Mr. Scharper's remarks on Hemingway might be profitably read in conjunction with the lead review on p. 305, by Mr. Moloney, who is in the English Department at Marquette University.*

platonically ideal love, embodied most un-platonically in a woman of surpassing physical beauty. This same quest for an ideal love has been the dynamism for Hemingway's most famous heroes—Lieutenant Henry and Robert Jordan—who have, like Byron's Conrad, Selim or Lara, been cheated by death before the ideal could be attained. Unlike Byron's figures, Hemingway's do not always play out the "loss of ideal love" formula, of course, but they do encounter the loss of the very thing which has assumed the greatest importance in their lives. Manuel, in "The Undeclared," is gored in his attempted comeback in a third-rate bullfight; the sharks destroy the giant marlin which the old fisherman, in the present work, has captured only after heroic efforts.

But whatever the form of defeat, the important thing for both Byron and Hemingway is that through this very loss the hero establishes himself, asserts his identity, as it were, by calmly embracing his defeat and thereby rising about it. For while Byron might have arched an aristocratic eyebrow at Hemingway's current hero, whose only interests are fishing and baseball, he would have accepted Hemingway's theme—a secularized, attenuated version of the Christian paradox that to gain life, one must first lose it.

These marked resemblances between the Byron and Hemingway heroes make all the more interesting that point where the similarity ceases. For Byron eventually came to look upon the Byronic hero with an objective eye, and what he saw led him to the satirical achievement of *Don Juan*, wherein he mercilessly parodies the very Byronic hero whose dashing adventures, Satanic pride and Romantic *Weltschmerz* had earlier fascinated half of Europe as much as it had Byron himself. Thus Byron in his unerring satire of the sentimental, self-deceiving Don Juan, both rends the artistic image of his earlier self, and gives a more devastating critique of the Byronic hero than even his least sympathetic critic has ever done—and in the process achieves his most mature and significant work.

But Hemingway has never reached that peak of detachment which would enable him to see the mote in his hero's eye, or to catch the occasional note of theatricality in his hero's voice. So far is he at present from anything like a Byronic self-criticism through parody that in *The Old Man and the Sea* Papa Hemingway (I am borrowing the title from some of his more impressionable devotees) has come roaring up off the canvas where *Across the River and into the Trees* had put him, and gives, in Santiago the old fisherman, one of the most valid and compelling depictions of his archetypal protagonist.

That fact would seem to indicate that Hemingway, at fifty-three, has looked upon his creation and found it good. His latest novel becomes an affirmation of faith in his earliest artistic conviction that the only meaningful experience in life is the display of raw courage in the face of a meaninglessly malign universe.

Such a conviction is valid, obviously, only within

very narrow limits; and one can broaden its range and enlarge its value, as Hemingway attempts to do, only by sentimentalizing one's theme. To view physical courage as a lofty moral ideal is adolescent; it belongs to the time when we thought the channel swimmer and star halfback were greater than the scientist, philosopher and saint. It is significant that the Old Man in the present story is heartened in his agonizing battle with the marlin by reflecting that he now resembles his hero, Joe DiMaggio, who continued to play baseball despite a bone-spur in his heel.

It is noteworthy, in this connection, that the critics who see in Hemingway more maturity than this, usually attempt to prove their point by hitching his wagon to someone else's star—as when Brooks and Warren announce that the theme of "The Killers" is the "Hamlet theme," or when Carlos Baker declares, without premise or preamble, that the Old Man of the present story is comparable to Captain Ahab. It is hard to reject the suspicion that in "loaded" comparisons such as these, the critics are concerned with lending Hemingway's fiction a weight and significance which the author could not, or at least did not, give. To compare Hamlet and Ahab, wrestling in darkness with the cosmic problem of evil, to the young Nick Adams and the old fisherman, who live, unreflecting, in a world of merely physical event, is surely to read generously between Hemingway's lines.

The Byronic hero, too, was fashioned on an essentially adolescent pattern—more subtle, slightly more intellectual than Hemingway's pattern, but essentially adolescent, belonging to the world of T. E. Henty and P. C. Wren.

Byron, belatedly maturing at thirty, looked back and laughed at his adolescent hero. Hemingway, not quite mature at fifty-three, is still fascinated with his, and therein lies the tragedy of one of the richest native talents of our time.

For the world has moved on since Hemingway first became the tensely eloquent spokesman for "the lost generation" after World War I who gazed at life with supposedly unbandaged eyes. God has pushed the world into the position where it must choose between extreme ideologies—theistic humanism, in Pius XII's phrase, or atheistic materialism. It is an age of challenge that has laid, as such diverse thinkers as Sorokin, Toynbee, Dawson and de Lubac remind us, the burden of searching thought and sensitive action on all of us if we are to survive.

It is a world of crisis and challenge, which has seen the raw courage of millions displayed in the wrong causes, and has witnessed the heroic death of thousands mocked by the fact that they died for the wrong reasons. Ours is a world where every man of good will is concerned with how the courageous thought of today will operate for the salvation of tomorrow. To come into that world with only the familiar tag of "raw courage is all" is to be prejudged as naive by the future, and to appear, in the perilous present, as already slightly anachronistic.

## Skilled, circumscribed

### HEMINGWAY: The Writer As Artist.

By Carlos Baker. Princeton University Press. 322p. \$4.50

Professor Baker's study of Hemingway is informed, comprehensive, sometimes eloquent. Carefully patterned, the book traces the development of the Hemingway talent over a thirty-year span from the early 1920's to the present.

The opening chapters provide an authentic picture of Hemingway's early struggle to perfect his art, as well as much detail of his personal life, including the friendships with F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ezra Pound, Gertrude Stein and Christian Gauss. The heart of the book discusses, in chronological order, the short stories, the novels and the nonfictional *Death in the Afternoon* and *The Green Hills of Africa*. The picture is of a Hemingway constantly growing in artistic seriousness and constantly increasing in artistic stature.

There is much that is impressive about Professor Baker's analysis. Careful scholarship, access to hitherto unpublished material (especially letters from Hemingway to the author), and an intimate awareness of all aspects of Hemingway's work give it an authority that is undeniable. But there is much, too, that is unconvincing.

The principal objection which may legitimately be advanced is that this study is too thoroughly laudatory. It is doubtless difficult to write impersonally of a contemporary; it is doubly difficult when that contemporary is so forthright a person as Hemingway. But criticism is not eulogy and the critic has an obligation not to confuse them.

With Professor Baker's praise of the ruthless self-discipline whereby Hemingway mastered his craft there can be no quarrel. Of the careful architectonic grasp of fictional structure, which Professor Baker admirably elucidates, there can be no doubt. To the thesis of the virtually all-inclusive Hemingway symbolism, I, at least, shall not too seriously demur. But granting all this, what is to be said for Hemingway's conception of the nature of man? When a Catholic critic poses such a query he risks the epithet "parochial" or "medieval." But is there actually in the destiny of Hemingway's men and women the fullness and the dignity which illumine the pages of a Euripides, a Dante, a Shakespeare or a Goethe? These writers are not parochial and only one is medieval.

If this last question seems to confer a fantastic dignity on Hemingway, my defense for asking it is that even to

this extreme has the Hemingway adulation come. Moreover, Professor Baker himself invites the comparison with Shakespeare: "If *A Farewell to Arms* was his *Romeo and Juliet*, and *For Whom the Bell Tolls* his *King Lear*... [*Across the River and Into the Trees*] could perhaps be called a lesser kind of *Winter's Tale* or *Tempest*."

It is possible to accept Hemingway as a master whose bleak prose and singly directed vision reflect accurately the spiritual and cultural aridity of our time. It ought to be equally possible to admit that his work is very gravely circumscribed, while noting that the circumscription is of the milieu as well as of the writer.

MICHAEL F. MOLONEY

## "Diplomat of labor"

### SIDNEY HILLMAN

By Matthew Josephson. Doubleday. 701p. \$5

He came to these shores in 1907—one of the 100,000 Eastern European Jews who that year poured through the immigration offices on Ellis Island. He was twenty years old and his birthplace was Zagare, Lithuania. A little more than three decades later, this frail-looking young man, who could have been mistaken for an undernourished intellectual, was selected by the President of the United States to help lead his adopted country in the greatest armament drive the world has ever seen. As co-chairman of the Office of Production Management, Sidney Hillman came to know, in a way the creator of Horatio Alger never dreamed of, that America was, indeed, the land of opportunity.

The years between Hillman's unheralded arrival and his ascent to the pinnacles of power were packed with enough activity to fill a dozen lifetimes. For a short space he worked as an underpaid pants-presser in Manhattan. Then, oppressed by the heartlessness and injustice all about him, he fled to Chicago, where he obtained a job at Hart, Schaffner and Marx. Here occurred the incident that was to determine Hillman's whole future.

One day in 1910, a small group of girls, bitter over working conditions at Hart, Schaffner, lost their tempers and walked off the job. Within a few weeks most of that great firm's 8,000 employees joined them on the picket-lines. They had no union and they had no money, but they stayed out for months. Eventually, almost all Chicago's 35,000 garment workers participated in the strike. At the beginning of this epic struggle, Hillman was unknown. At the end of it, he was

## BOOKS

on the way to becoming one of the most imaginative and constructive leaders of labor this country has known.

Out of the Hart, Schaffner strike was born the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and for the next quarter-century the history of Hillman is the history of the Amalgamated. It is a fascinating history—a history of struggle against seemingly impossible odds, of great achievement, of something called "industrial democracy." It is the story of how decency and order were brought to the jungle of the garment industry, the story of union-sponsored cooperative housing and banking, the story of grim warfare against doctrinaire ideologists and some of the most ruthless racketeers that ever preyed on American society.

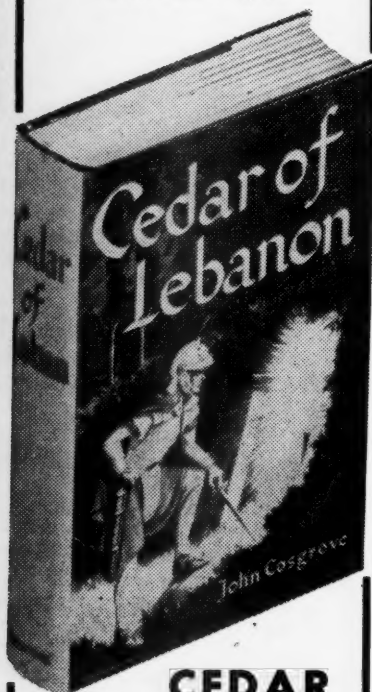
By 1933 the job was done. The mobs had been routed, the Communists had been driven to cover, the industry had been largely unionized. Hillman had time to turn his ingenious mind and enormous energy to larger fields.

The next twelve years were headline years. He went to Washington and did his best to make the NRA a success. With John L. Lewis he led a revolt against craft-union domination of the AFL and established the CIO. With David Dubinsky he launched the American Labor party. As the war drew closer he answered President Roosevelt's appeal and returned to Washington. There he spent himself keeping peace between AFL and CIO, keeping peace between labor and management, and handling a multitude of manpower problems. Relieved of the burden when Roosevelt reorganized the war production set-up in 1942, he returned to his beloved Amalgamated. The remaining years—he died in 1946—were largely devoted to the CIO's Political Action Committee, and to a grandiose scheme of organizing the trade unions of the world for peace and prosperity. The effort was beyond his failing strength. He died with his last great dream unrealized. Perhaps it was just as well. The Amalgamated had scarcely buried its leader when the dream of a peaceful postwar world turned into a nightmare.

Mr. Josephson has written a friendly biography. Through all the pages of this book, Hillman walks a knight in shining armor, with not a mistake to mar the perfection of his achievement. True, he was a great and talented



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man, an upright man, a man sincerely devoted to making peace and justice prevail. He believed in labor-management cooperation and he practised his belief. He believed that union leadership was a dedicated career, and that belief he practised, too. (He did not die a rich man.) But though he was much more often right than wrong, he did make mistakes, and Mr. Josephson's work would be more impressive had these been admitted.

He erred when he supported Henry Wallace for the Vice Presidency in 1944, when he persuaded Lord Citrine that free trade unions could live with slave trade unions in the World Federation of Trade Unions, when he permitted the right wing of the American Labor party to become divided, when he nourished exaggerated hopes of postwar collaboration with the Kremlin. Many others, it is true, had similar hopes, but Hillman, with his long experience of Communists, should have known better.

These errors of judgment do not detract from his many rich contributions to a better America. They only show that the man was, after all, human. **BENJAMIN L. MASSE**

### **Adventure in the infant church**

#### **CEDAR OF LEBANON**

By John Cosgrove. McMullen. 490p. \$3.50

Mr. Cosgrove, turned novelist at the age of 67, is the latest of a long line of Catholic writers who have attempted a love's labor of writing a novel about Christ and his times. In one aspect of his work, love's labor has been lost; in others the author has come off better than most non-Catholics who have tried the same job.

His failure lies in the realm where success is an impossibility. Years ago, when writing a critique of *The Robe*, I quoted from Rev. Hilarin Felder, O.F.M. Cap.'s *Jesus of Nazareth*:

All other personalities lack this [harmonious completeness of the human qualities] of Jesus; they suffer from one-sidedness and incongruities. One-sided endowment, one-sided development and one-sided activity is the mark of everything human . . . no one succeeds in developing a character in which all noble qualities are equally conspicuous and in perfect harmony . . . It is only in Jesus that all lofty qualities are found in perfect symmetry, in completeness and in fullest harmony . . . In all things He is equally great and perfect.

It is impossible, therefore, even for a novelist of genius to make Our Lord

successfully into an actor in his story, for the precise reason that His character does not offer one or several salient characteristics upon which the novelist can seize. To the extent that the figure of Our Lord *does* succeed in being a novelist's character, He will cease to be the perfect, harmonious figure history and revelation show that He is.

This is where Mr. Cosgrove has failed, as indeed he must. In the attempt to make Our Lord familiar and "homey," while still grasping His majesty, he has not avoided many a slither into bathos and a distasteful chumminess. Such, to give but one instance, is the brief scene in which our Lady, engaged in helping Jesus get ready to go out for a dinner "the boys" are giving at Simon's house, arrays Him in a new robe:

Jesus glanced down at the robe and extended himself to full stature. "Well, you've done it at last," he said, a critical tone in his voice.

"Done what?" she inquired with concern.

"Made me the best-dressed man in Nazareth," he chuckled, going out the door.

This is not to say that Mr. Cosgrove falls into the heresy of many another fictionalized treatment of Christ. He does not minimize the miracles, the supernatural; Christ is in truth the Son of God in the pages of *Cedar of Lebanon*—and this is the success I mentioned above.

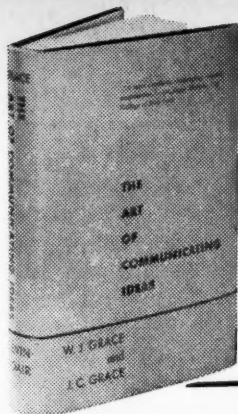
Perhaps, though, this criticism of the figure of Christ in the novel is not quite fair, for Our Lord does not feature too often in its pages. The main story concerns Vitus Curtius, a Roman whose many adventures cross the path of Christ and the Apostles, who is converted and finally lays down his life for a friend.

Vitus does get around. He was at the Multiplication of the Loaves, at the Way of the Cross and the Crucifixion; he was one of the guards of the tomb at the Resurrection. He was in Rome with Peter and Paul and earlier had fallen in love with Mary Magdalen. He is imprisoned, shipwrecked, tortured, connives for a while with Annas and Caiphas.

On this level the book has a certain pace and movement to it, though it must be confessed that, though coincidence is heaped on coincidence, even the *deus ex machina* has a hard time keeping up with Vitus.

This is not "the great Catholic novel of the year." It is an adventure tale that is quite orthodox, but which cannot adequately tell of the Great Adventure because there is only One who can so tell of it—He who lived it.

**HAROLD C. GARDINER**



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## THE FIRE OF FRANCIS XAVIER

By Arthur R. McGratty, S.J. Bruce. 292p. \$3.50

The all but simultaneous appearance of Father McGratty's *The Fire of Francis Xavier* with the biography by Father Brodrick invites, if it does not compel, comparison. But before reading a line of either book, one could guess that each is intended for readers with different interests. Father Brodrick's volume is a work of deep scholarship. The apparatus of scholarship is conspicuously absent from Fr. McGratty's book, if we except a list of twenty-odd books for "Selected Reading," which seems to confirm the surmise that he is thinking of the less informed and less critical reader.

But this is not to say that there is no scholarship in Fr. McGratty's work. In fact, on every page there is evidence of the careful and loving study that must have prepared him for the writing of this fascinating and moving story. He deals briefly, but with an air of competence, with almost every phase of Francis' activity. Beginning, of course, in Navarre, he carries us to Paris, to Italy, to Portugal, and by the most formidable of sea voyages to the vast stretches of the orient. There is something meteoric in the life story of Xavier, and Fr. McGratty's recital fairly sweeps the reader along.

There is more than drama, however, in the life of Xavier. There are the elements of tragedy, or there would be, if we were allowed to take the short-range, and wrong, view of the saint's life, looked upon as coming to an end at Sancian. Fr. McGrat-

ty is well aware of that, and does not leave us with the sense of frustration in the presence of a death so apparently premature, and a career cut short, we can easily believe, by the envy and malice of a man.

Fr. McGratty gives us just enough of the milieu of the Orient in Xavier's day to help us appreciate the difficulties with which Francis had to contend. He makes us share with Francis not only the hazards from stormy seas and steaming jungle trails that led through strange and perilous lands, but the more deadly opposition that came from the pagan environment which enveloped his ill-instructed Christians, the deplorable political and moral corruption which had eaten away all but the shell of Christianity in Portuguese officialdom, and the final focusing of these forces in the open hostility of that detestable person, the Commandant-elect at Malacca, Alvaro d'Ateide, who turns out to be the villain of the piece.

Younger readers, for whom I suppose the book is intended, will be carried away by the eager rush of the story, and will overlook certain defects which older and more critical readers cannot overlook, and can notice only with regret. For instance, on page 287 we read: "Their first Father in God had returned to them. *El Divino Impaciente* (Francis' well known title, once translated by some unsung genius as 'The Divine Rustler') had come back to his people." Surely, Fr. McGratty must have said that with tongue in cheek. This reviewer can see no indication of genius, sung or unsung, in such a translation of the title to Pemán's delightful play.

Hugh de Blacam's version, "A Saint in a Hurry," may not rise to the heights of genius, but it certainly avoids both the depths of the vulgar and soars over the level of the colloquial.

This is but one among many defects, and one, perhaps, minor, but whose total effect is to make an absorbing story irksome reading.

Fr. McGratty's book will find enthusiastic readers. One can hardly get close to Francis without catching some of his fire, and Fr. McGratty will pass on to his readers something of the fire he himself has caught from Xavier. WILLIAM J. YOUNG, S.J.

## THE FIRST CHRISTMAS

By Denis O'Shea. Bruce. 160p. \$3

To describe this book briefly, it is a reconstruction of what probably befell Joseph and Mary before the birth of Christ and directly afterward. The story begins with the announcement of Caesar's census, and ends with the visit of the shepherds to the Christmas cave.

The chief merit of Father O'Shea's work is an attempt to be strictly objective and to adhere to the most reliable historical data we possess. In this attempt he has eminently succeeded. His plan is sound, namely, to describe the politics, geography and common customs of Christ's time, and to draw therefrom information which will fill in the gaps of the gospel narrative.

Readers of his book will have particular cause to be grateful for the author's periodic exposés of the absurdities of the apocryphal legends. If only future authors will resist the temptation to borrow from the apocrypha under the pretext of presenting "tradition" concerning the Holy Family, the genuine tradition of truth drawn from evangelical and profane history will be established in our English devotional literature on this subject.

Father O'Shea is curate of a rural parish of Tang, County Westmeath. His Christmas book reflects the meditation he has devoted to his subject no less than his familiarity with his sources—Josephus, the Talmud and standard scriptural reference works.

The great benefit of a book like *The First Christmas* is, of course, its emphasis on the truth that the Lord Jesus was "like us in all things, sin alone excepted." Because of its attractive Christmas format as well as its sober contents, this reviewer suggests it as a worth-while Christmas gift, not only to one of the Fold but to the inquiring and sincere non-Catholic as well. FRANCIS L. FILAS, S.J.

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**A TIME OUTWORN**

*By Val Mulhern. Devin-Adair. 253p. \$3*

That young woman, Cathleen Ni Houlihan, who peers out so brightly from under the old crone's black shawl, will go on renewing herself in her children, and they in her, as long as they continue to nourish one another on Ireland's magic brew of poetry and truth. This mixture of romanticism and candor, so natural to the Irish temperament, comes to fine fusion in a first novel by a twenty-six-year-old Dublin girl. Miss Mulhern is a woman deeply in love—in love with mother Eire from her misty quays and bridges along the Liffey to her wild coast of Aran; in love as well with the Irish tongue whether it speaks in Gaelic or English, with a Dublin accent or in the lush idiom of the provinces.

Writing under a sad title taken from a line by Yeats—"outworn heart in a time outworn"—the young author intersperses considerable joy amid the sadness, moving easily from mood to mood. She is full of impatience and lyricism, a convent-bred Catholic but with little tolerance for the "priest-worship," a romanticist with a talent for down-to-earthness and, whether objective or poetic, a writer of lucid, evocative and sometimes haunting prose.

A Dublin party is perhaps the tenderest part of the book, like a painting by Degas of the same picture of innocence and youth. In fact there is an essential innocence about this novel, despite the tragedy of a youth's betrayal of his fiancée. Although the quiet story is one of heartbreak, it is a cool book, almost an anachronism in an era when sex plays so loudly on the cash register. Maeve Cusack's choice of integrity over the strong pull of love provides its own kind of shock ending, and probably there is nothing the modern novel has needed more than a clear-eyed Irishwoman to do this very thing to it.

MARJORIE HOLLIGAN

**OUT OF THE BLUE, A BOOK  
ABOUT RADIO AND TELEVISION**

*By John Crosby. Simon & Schuster. 301p. \$3*

For the past six years, day after day, the facile pen of a young American journalist, John Crosby, has been at work turning out delightful little essays about radio and television for some eighteen million newspaper readers. These daily columns during this period have used up, it is estimated, about a million words. The

choicest of these columns have been collected in this book.

Do not be deceived by the subtitle. This is not a scholarly and exhaustive study of the broadcasting industry; nor is it a collection of strictly analytical and critical reviews of radio and television programs. As Crosby himself says, this is not so much a record of what transpired on the air in those years as what went on in his mind.

A man who, of necessity, constantly listens to the radio or watches television in order to meet a daily deadline will have many pet opinions and gripes. Crosby is no exception; nor does he hesitate at times to state his case with "formidable coherence," let heads fall where they may. Occasionally he will hang his hat on some radio or television program or trend and then wander off merrily on his way discoursing about this or that, always remembering to get back in time to pick up his hat before the column closes.

The book contains many humorous anecdotes about famous personalities. You'll meet, once again, Kate Smith, Archie and Finnegan, Margaret Truman, Al Jolson, Senator Kefauver, the stars of the soap operas, and hosts of others of varying abilities and talents. The feud between Fred Allen and the NBC vice presidents and censors is discussed. Some of Bill Stern's fantastic tales are repeated. There is a serious discussion of the very real challenge facing educators to get into the TV picture now, instead of waiting a few years to complain about the low intellectual level of TV programs. The book is indexed for reference purposes, and, except for one or two slight and unnecessary lapses from its usual good taste, makes for pleasant, light reading.

JAMES O'BRIEN

**MCCARTHY: THE MAN,  
THE SENATOR, THE "ISM"**

*By J. Anderson and R. May. Beacon. 431p. \$3.75*

This is the first full-length book written on the career of the controversial Senator from Wisconsin. The authors are two newspapermen who have spent a year at the task of unearthing old records, news accounts and the reminiscences of former associates of McCarthy who are no longer kindly disposed toward him. A thorough job appears to have been done, with no stone left unturned that might hide a bit of evidence to support the case against the Senator. It is neither a scholarly nor an objective book, and makes no pretense of being other than it is: an exposé of "the lively skeletons" in McCarthy's closet.

The portrait we are presented with is that of a man without redeeming qualities to relieve his unscrupulous guile. Winning early success in local politics at the expense of his benefactor, he sullies his career as a circuit judge by "quickie" divorces. His wartime service with the Marines in the Pacific affords him maximum political appeal with a minimum of personal danger. He defeats Bob LaFollette for the latter's Senate seat by accepting the support of Communist elements.

In similar vein his career in the Senate is described. He is a supporter of the sugar lobby, and even of condemned Nazis. His personal finances are a tangled skein of heavy profits on the stock exchange, debt and subterfuge.

But the authors reserve their heaviest fire for his campaign against Communists in government. This, according to them, was a desperate move by the Senator to regain his slipping hold on the headlines.

The McCarthy the authors describe is not a Machiavelli, but a fast-talking super-salesman intent on acquiring personal power. Quick to see the value of keeping his name in the headlines, he has resorted to the device of making wild, unsupported charges in order to capture the front page for himself. Heir to the mantle of Huey Long as a demagog, he is, since Long's death,

the gravest threat to the stability of our political institutions.

The authors have furnished a handy reference work for those who would bolster their arguments against McCarthy. But a blanket defense of all who have come under the Senator's attack and a blanket indictment of his whole career will not win them many new adherents to their cause. For the thoughtful reader, the issue of McCarthy and McCarthyism is not a matter of all black or all white, and no worthy end is served by discussing it on those terms, as this book does.

JOHN J. RYAN JR.

REV. WILLIAM J. YOUNG, S.J., is the translator of Dudon's *Life of St. Ignatius of Loyola*.

REV. FRANCIS L. FILAS, S.J., assistant professor in the Department of Theology at Loyola University, Chicago, is the author of *The Man Near-est Christ and Joseph and Jesus*.

JAMES O'BRIEN is engaged in radio and television work.

JOHN J. RYAN JR. is a frequent reviewer of books on the political scene.

## THE WORD

"They therefore say to him: 'Who art thou?' . . . What hast thou to say of thyself?" (John 1:22; third Sunday of Advent).

There need be no surprise that the Pharisees sent a deputation to ask John the Baptist: "Who art thou, that we may give an answer to those who sent us? What hast thou to say of thyself?"

They knew, of course, that he was the son of the priest Zachary and Elizabeth. They were not unaware of the signs that had surrounded the conception and birth of the Baptist: the message of the Angel Gabriel to Zachary and the fulfillment of the Angel's prophecy that his wife would conceive in her old age. Judea had talked all these things over when they happened, speculating as to what sort of man this John would grow up to be. People had wondered and waited.

Hence, when John emerged from the desert and began to preach, he was known at once. In asking who he was, the priests were not inquiring as to his person, but about his mission.

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That he was an important spiritual leader was obvious. Official Jerusalem was anxious to know just how important. Was he another in the long line of prophets, or the immediate precursor of the Messiah foretold by Isaias—or even the Messiah Himself? The delegation was really asking, not “Who art thou?” but “What art thou?”

John understood their question and answered briefly, not giving his name and parentage, but telling what his mission was: to announce the approach of Another, whose voice he was. So, throughout his brief public ministry the son of Zachary hid his own individuality. He was but a voice

proclaiming the need for repentance. He would have men remember the baptism he performed at the ford of the Jordan; they might, if they would, ignore and forget him who poured the water. John's mission as precursor of our Lord was so important that it overshadowed the man.

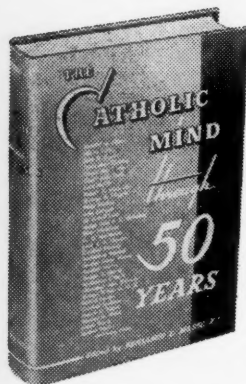
The center of every parish today is a rectory with its priests. Like the Baptist, each of these priests is both a human individual and an official ambassador of Christ. The caliber of the Catholic priesthood in America has, thank God, always been high. But Christ draws into his apostolate many types of men: the contemplative

and the active, the pensive scholar and the man of boundless energy. And, as happens in all walks of life, each priest's special talents and personality are hedged about with shortcomings and limitations. Yet it does not greatly matter who the priest is as a man; his parishioners' chief interest should be in what he is as a priest: one anointed and sent by God to help them to serve Him and sanctify themselves.

Each priest is frequently asked: “Who art thou? What hast thou to say of thyself?” Well may each reply: “I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness of materialism and indifference and sin that the Kingdom of God is at hand. I am a tongue endowed with the authority to forgive sin in the name of Almighty God. I am lips which pronounce the words of consecration over bread and wine, making them the Body and Blood of Christ. I am a thumb to anoint with holy oils the brow of the dying and bring to the soul at that dread moment the peace and comforting of Christ.

“My name, my reputation, my personal gifts and endowments, what do these avail? I am a weak and imperfect son of woman, unworthy to loose the sandal-straps of Him I serve. Yet he has chosen to teach and sanctify through me, and He has granted me the sacred powers to fulfil my office. Who am I? I am an ambassador of Christ?”  
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comes naturally. What comes naturally to Howard Carol, head of the family, is lecturing before various civic bodies, usually making some statement which, if taken literally, can be quoted to his future embarrassment. In the opinion of his wife he is afflicted with foot-in-the-mouth disease. That is clearly a serious malady when the patient is a properly dignified banker in a conservative community.

In an inspirational talk to the faculty and students of the high school, Carol affirms the right of every individual to free expression of personality and free use of his talents. Among those who take his remarks at face value are two of his teen-age daughters, who assert their right to eschew certain disciplines of family and school, while his youngest girl, a lass of fourteen, expresses her personality by reporting for the school football squad. A damsel, weight 90 pounds, she insists on her right to be tackled by an opposing lineman weighing 150, thus not only causing mild consternation in the family but upsetting the whole town.

Melvyn Douglas is starred as the nominal head of the family, while Polly Rowles is featured as his affectionate but critical wife. Miss Rowles is her usual adept self at throwing verbal stiletos, and Mr. Douglas is a special number as the harassed father. His description of his daughter's sensational run for a touchdown is as hilarious as the Statue of Liberty play in *The Male Animal*.

The producers are Shepard Traube and Gordon Pollock, in association with Don Hershey, Mr. Traube directing. They apparently made an effort to bring an entertaining play to Broadway. The play seems to have been lost in one of the tryout towns, but enough entertainment was salvaged to provide a lot of fun for the family trade.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

## FILMS

IT GROWS ON TREES. The whimsical notion around which this film is built is that money really grows on trees. Specifically, two rare bushes, carefully nurtured by a suburban housewife (Irene Dunne), begin to produce five- and ten-dollar bills which, for a time at least, the bank is unable to distinguish from the genuine articles. In these days of high living-costs and depressingly inelastic pay-checks, this situation could hardly be improved upon for inspiring audience identification. And the picture manages to back up its potential appeal

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by radiating, in everything but its "pennies from heaven" premise, an atmosphere of recognizable, everyday family life.

The premise itself, however, lacks the simple quality of "plausible impossibility" which is necessary for a really good fantasy. Despite the film's best efforts to avoid discussing the intricate design of U. S. currency, the implausibility of its growing on trees, presumably complete with serial numbers, keeps intruding to sidetrack the fun.

Nevertheless, the picture is put together with a good deal more imagination than most situation-comedies for

the family. It makes pleasant comic capital out of the husband-and-father (Dean Jagger) trying to cope with the feminine approach to economics and the morality of keeping found money, and handles with commendable inventiveness and high spirits a variety of complications, including the appearance on the scene of the Departments of the Treasury, Agriculture and Internal Revenue.

(Universal-International)

MILLION DOLLAR MERMAID is some harmless and handsomely Technicolored fiction about Annette Kellerman, the Esther Williams of forty

years ago, tailored appropriately enough as a vehicle for Esther Williams. According to the picture, Annette was an Australian girl, who rose inspirationally above a crippling childhood illness to become a swimming champion, which may very easily be true.

It may perhaps also be true that she carved an impressive career as a professional swimmer and entertainer, beginning with marathon swims undertaken for publicity purposes and culminating with star billing at the New York Hippodrome and in the movies.

In any case, biographical data take a back seat in favor of musical-comedy formula in the screen play. It features, among other types, the heroine's courtly old father (Walter Pidgeon) and an eminently solvent and respectable suitor (David Brian) whom she rejects in favor of the equally familiar, irresponsible press-agent (Victor Mature). The formula can also be turned on and off at will to accommodate a parade of water ballets conceived on a scale which would have taxed even the mammoth facilities of the old Hippodrome. In one way or another the picture should succeed in entertaining the family.

(MGM)

BECAUSE OF YOU is a king-size dose of synthetic anguish of the kind generally referred to as a three-handkerchief or woman's picture. Its long-suffering heroine (Loretta Young) is subjected to more hard knocks than the fender of a New York taxicab, mostly for doing the wrong thing from the purest of motives and later having the worst possible interpretation put on her actions.

She starts out as a wide-eyed girl from the farm who becomes the innocent tool of a crook (Alex Nicol) and is sent to jail. Being an altruistic soul at heart, she studies nursing in stir and upon parole becomes the Florence Nightingale of a veterans' hospital. Here she gets romantically involved with a patient (Jeff Chandler) who is both a millionaire—so the heroine can live in glamorous surroundings when she marries him—and the victim of a bad case of war neurosis—to excuse the heroine's concealment from him of her past. How she is deprived of husband and child and works as a magician's assistant on a singularly roundabout and irrelevant path to a reconciliation is told with no respect for logic or common sense.

The story boasts the combination of heartbreak, cinderella glamor and corn supposedly favored by adults of the fair sex.

(Universal-International)  
MOIRA WALSH

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# PARADE

THE IMPACT OF DUMB BEASTS upon human society figured prominently in the news. . . . Here, there, everywhere, one could see the behavior-patterns of beasts affecting the patterns of men. . . . Involved were widely varied spheres of human activity. . . . Transportation circles experienced the impact. . . . In Melbourne, Australia, a lizard began running up the trouser leg of a railroad guard, confusing the man while he was in the act of throwing a switch. Three loaded freight cars left the tracks. . . . Law-enforcement ranks were affected. . . . In Albany, N. Y., a policeman on a motorcycle stuck out his tongue. A passing bumblebee stung it. The policeman swerved into a tree. . . . Highway traffic was snarled. . . . In Santa Barbara, Calif., a Western bee flew into an auto, stung the back of the driver's neck. The auto turned, climbed onto a porch. . . . Hotel routines were disrupted. . . . In New York, as an American barn owl, with a four-foot wingspread, was passing the twenty-seventh floor of a hotel, he noticed an open window, and flew in. Seconds later, screams sounded all over the twenty-seventh floor. Eventually, the owl was caught in a blanket. . . . Heralded was the projected emancipation of women from beast-like coiffures. . . . In Milwaukee, at a convention of hair stylists, speakers declared that the poodle cut, the pony-tail cut and other symptoms of animal influence on hair styles

(Continued from p. 316)

Regardless of their intentions and desires those who vote for Stevenson will be actually casting votes for a candidate committed to a program which they themselves oppose.

The problem is how, under these difficult circumstances, to most effectively guarantee that the outcome of the elections cannot be constructed [sic] as a mandate for war and fascism, regardless of who is elected.

Those millions of voters who do not understand the real nature of the Stevenson candidacy and who, although without enthusiasm for him, somehow figure he is "preferable" to Eisenhower [sic] can still find ways of expressing their misgivings. They can do this by helping to elect local Progressive Party and coalition candidates, Negro candidates regardless of ticket, and labor candidates, and by piling up a big vote for those Communist candidates who are in the field.

for women would soon be things of the past.

As the week moved along, the relationships between beasts and men expressed themselves in myriad ways. . . . In Germany, a hotel man who had hired agents to place bedbugs in the beds of a rival hotel, was released from prison on parole. . . . Friendly attitudes towards beasts emerged. . . . In Winnipeg, Canada, a zoology professor expressed the view that hogs would make good domestic pets. He explained: "The hog is intelligent, and could be easily house-trained. I see no reason why, in time, there should not be pigs and hogs sitting on the doorsteps of our homes." . . . Strange coincidences were reported. . . . In Roanoke, Va., an insurance agent sold a citizen a liability policy covering his police dog. The dog then bit the agent. . . . Family tiffs were glimpsed. . . . In Torquay, Eng., a wife told a judge there was no reason for having her dog destroyed. She argued: "My husband shouts and waves his stick and the dog gets excited. If my husband were put away, the dog would be all right." Unimpressed, the judge decreed that the dog, not the husband, must go.

The present relationship between men and beasts is not the one that was originally planned by God. . . . In that plan, all animals were to be perfectly subject to man. . . . The first man ruined that plan. . . . When he rebelled against God, beasts rebelled against him. . . . In a word, the relationship between men and beasts worsened when the relationship between God and man worsened.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

Beyond this, there is still much that can be done. Progressive Party candidate Hallinan is doing a service to the country in calling on all voters, regardless of how they will vote, to join him in demanding of Truman, Stevenson and Eisenhower an immediate cease-fire in Korea, with the remaining POW issue to be negotiated later.

The official referendum and balloting on cease-fire and the insistence that all candidates speak out in its support, is the best way to insure that this complicated election situation will result not in a set-back but in an advance for the cause of peace, which, as Stone himself says, is the "overriding issue today."

In preaching confidence in Stevenson and comparing [sic] him to Abe Lincoln, Stone is doing a disservice to the cause of peace. He should be preaching the need of a mass vote and of mass activity for peace.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### Senator McCarthy objects

**EDITOR:** You carried a completely and viciously false article about me in the November 22, 1952 issue of your magazine. It will be found on page 209.

You first refer to an article in the Daily Worker which I used in my Chicago speech; you then completely misquote it. You also make the statement that Governor Stevenson is not even mentioned in the article. A photostat of that article is herewith enclosed. You will note that the editorial does exactly what I said it did—viciously damns Eisenhower, slaps Stevenson lightly on the wrist, and tells the people if they want to vote for Stevenson, vote for him and the rest of the Progressive Party candidates and pile up a big vote for the Communist candidates who are in the field.

You also accuse me of "making off posthaste with them (the photostats) after ostentatiously promising to let newsmen examine them." This, again, is completely false. All the photostats were taken into the room back of the speakers' stand. The photographers and newsmen were invited in. The photographers took pictures of some of the material I used, and the newsmen were invited to examine any of the documents which they cared to examine. My chief investigator was there to assist them and find the desired documents. He remained as long as any of the newsmen showed any interest in any of the material.

You could have easily verified this if you had cared to do so.

I realize that your magazine has been extremely critical of my fight to expose Communists in government. Obviously that is your right. I am sure you will agree with me, however, that while you may owe no duty to me to correct the vicious smear job which you attempted to do on me, you do owe a heavy duty to the vast number of good Catholic people who assume that at least in a Jesuit operated magazine they can read the truth.

Being an ardent Catholic myself, brought up with a great respect for the Priesthood, which I still hold, it is inconceivable to me that a Catholic Priest could indulge in such vicious falsehoods in order to discredit my fight to expose the greatest enemy of not only the Catholic Church, but our entire civilization.

If you do not see fit to correct the falsehoods in this article, then it

would seem that common decency would demand that you publish not only this letter but also the Daily Worker editorial to which I referred in Chicago so that your readers may determine the truth.

You also state "the speech reeked with wholly unjustified innuendoes." It would seem only fair that you detail those "unjustified innuendoes."

A copy of the speech is enclosed for your information. Every statement made was carefully documented and was then submitted to the critical eyes of a sizeable number of competent newsmen for the sole purpose of making sure there were no unjustified conclusions drawn. **JOE MCCARTHY**

Washington, D. C.

*(Below is the full text of the Daily Worker article to which Sen. McCarthy referred in his Oct. 27 broadcast, reproduced from his photostat. The latter included no date. Passages marked in the photostat are here italicized. See pp. 301-303 of this issue for a reply to the above letter. Ed.)*

### I. F. Stone and the Fight Against McCarthyism

By **ALAN MAX**

*(Concluding article)*

LET'S TAKE A LOOK at the statements of I. F. Stone, in his Compass column of Sept. 21, that the left forces in this campaign may, without wanting to, help "put the McCarthy crowd into power."

The working people of this country are rightly afraid of McCarthyism and of Eisenhowerism.

The question is: Who is turning the country over to this program and how to stop it.

The Daily Worker signaled to its readers the sinister meaning of the Eisenhower candidacy when it first came up. We characterized the Republican Party convention as a rallying behind of Big Business' program of war, as symbolized by Eisenhower, and of fascism as symbolized by Nixon.

This paper has hammered away at Eisenhower's "liberation war" policy, and has exposed the general's own \$520,000 tax scandal and Nixon's jimcrow contract on his \$41,000 house.

We share with the millions of unionists and Negro people *their hatred of Eisenhowerism and Nixon-McCarthy-*

ism. But we are doing a real service, we are convinced, when we insist that during the past four years it has been the leadership of the Democratic Party, as the party in power, that has been actually setting the stage for McCarthyism and Eisenhowerism.

The first step in the Eisenhower-Dulles "liberation war" policy was the Truman war in Korea, to the continuation of which Stevenson is fully committed.

The most ominous step so far in feeding the growth of McCarthyism, has been the Smith Act prosecutions, initiated by the Truman Administration and fully approved by Stevenson.

Although most people see McCarthyism and Eisenhowerism as expressed in individuals, they are really far more than that: they constitute a program, the groundwork of which the Democratic Party itself has actually been initiating.

If the Democratic Party were in fact a lesser evil to the Republicans, then that party would deserve the support, however qualified, of the voters. But as the four years of the Truman Administration show on the central issue of peace, it is not a "lesser" evil, but an evil that uses different methods from those used by the GOP.

Responsibility for turning the country in the direction of war and fascism also falls squarely on the shoulders of those top labor leaders and social-democratic leaders who have been insisting that the people place their confidence in Truman and Stevenson. When Stone now calls for "confidence" in Stevenson, he too is sharing in the responsibility [sic] for helping the advance [sic] of McCarthyism and Eisenhowerism.

How is the drive toward war and fascism to be stopped in its tracks?

By calling for "confidence" in the very party and candidates who, while trying to keep the Republicans out of office, are themselves advancing this program? To call for "confidence" under such circumstances is deceptive and suicidal.

Can there be any doubt that a truly big vote for the only peace ticket in the field—the Progressive Party—would be a major obstacle to the war program, regardless of which individuals are elected in November? It would be a dramatic sign of the true feelings of the voters.

The real problem is that the overwhelming majority of workers and Negro people still try to express their desires for peace and democracy through the framework of the two-party system, especially through the Democratic Party which usurps the name of FDR.

*(Continued on page 315)*

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